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The Battle of 'Sauchieburn'

THE events of 11 June 1488 are notoriously obscure, as no contemporary account of them is known and the statements made by historians in the sixteenth century and later are vague and mutually conflicting. It is the purpose of this note to review the available evidence, to determine what actually happened in so far as this may now be possible, and in particular to examine why the battle should be commonly called 'of Sauchieburn'.

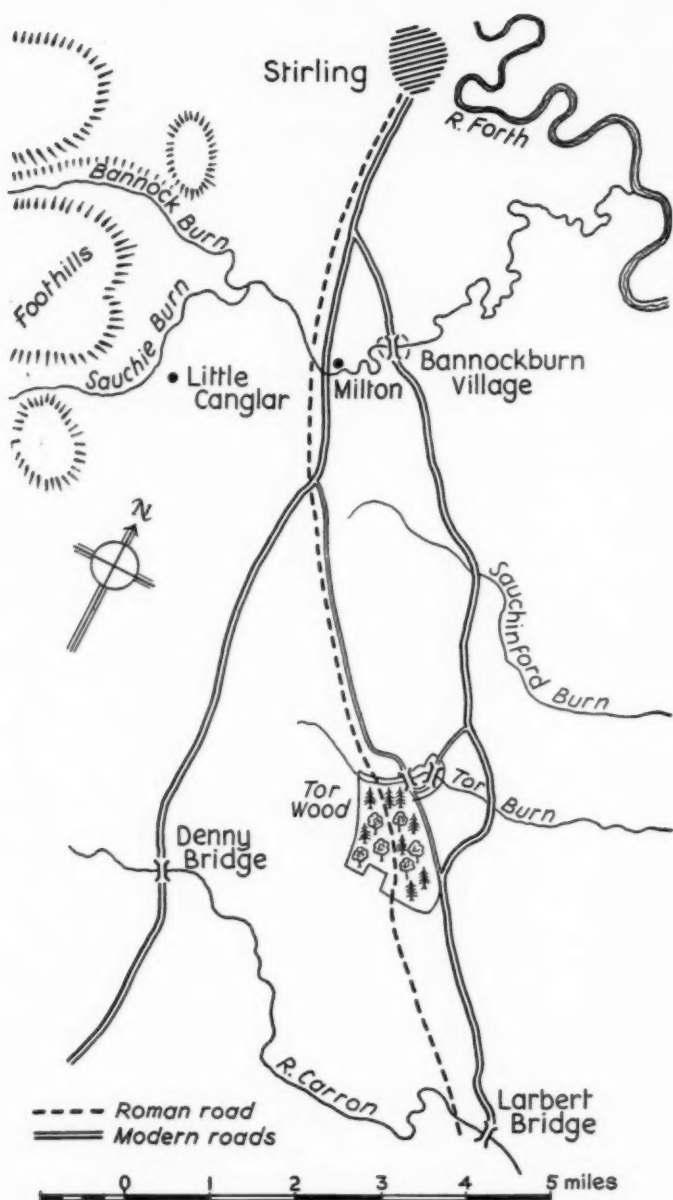
The only contemporary documents that allude to the battle are an Act of Parliament of 17 October 1488, and a grant of lands made in 1489. The former reads, 'Item in this parliament . . . was proponit the debaite and cause of the feild of Stervilin in quhilk umquhile James, king of Scotlande, quham God assolye, faider to our soveran lord, happinnit to be slane', and again ' . . . the slauchteris committ and done in the feild of Striviline quhar our soverane lordis faider happinnit to be slane'¹; while the latter alludes to the finding of Bruce's sword, which James had carried, 'in bello prope Striveling in die sancti Barnabe Apostoli'.² In this dearth of contemporary evidence it is necessary to fall back on the sixteenth-century writers, and among these Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie deserves particular attention. A first reason for this is that he had among his sources Patrick, 4th Lord Lindsay of the Byres,³ who was his own grandfather, which may well have meant that he had access to family traditions or records relating to the battle as Patrick's brother David, the second Lord, had been one of the commanders of James III's army. Another probable source with a Lindsay connection was Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.⁴

¹ *A.P.S.*, ii, 210 f.

² *Exch. Rolls*, x, 82.

³ Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* (Scot. Text Soc.), i, p. civ.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, p. cxv.



Sketch-map of the ground between the River Carron and Stirling, to illustrate the battle fought on 11 June 1488.

Similarly, information obtained from the Wood family is likely to have been reliable, as the elder Sir Andrew Wood was in command of the king's ships lying in the Forth on the day of the battle; and the influence of the Woods is to be seen in much of Pitscottie's nautical matter.¹ Again his account is presumably earlier than Lesley's, which comes next in order.²

Pitscottie's story of the battle³ is too long to reproduce in full, but readers are assumed to be generally familiar with it and its main points may be resumed as follows. The king found himself at the head of a powerful force, as his northern supporters had arrived; and though the castle of Stirling was held against him he had the use of the town. On the morning of 11 June⁴ he advanced to the Tor Wood (see Map), presumably along a line approximating to that of the Roman road, this being the natural route for his opponents to follow in advancing from their overnight position on the south side of the Carron⁵; and when his troops came up he deployed them in open fields which must have been south of the wood. He had meanwhile rejected proposals for peace made by moderates on both sides. The insurgents then came into view, battle was joined, and the king lost courage and fled with the object of taking refuge in Stirling; the army subsequently fell back on the Tor Wood, in an orderly retreat, and maintained a position there until nightfall. In the later stages of the action, however, stragglers were drifting back towards Stirling, with insurgents in pursuit; and it was during this phase, when the refugees and their pursuers were thronging the road to Stirling, that the king was found in the mill at Bannockburn and murdered. After the pursuit was over the insurgents returned to the position from which they had started.

Pitscottie's battle is thus seen to develop on perfectly natural lines, the armies moving on the Larbert-Stirling road and most of the fighting taking place south of or in the Tor

¹ Lindsay of Pitscottie, *op. cit.*, i, p. cxii.

² Polydore Vergil (1534) and Edward Hall (1548) are both earlier than Pitscottie, but they mention the battle only in a cursory way and give no information of value.

³ Lindsay of Pitscottie, *op. cit.*, i, 205 ff.

⁴ At this season there is daylight in Stirlingshire from about 3.0 a.m. to 9.0 p.m. G.M.T.

⁵ Pitscottie's expression 'abone the bridge' suggests that this position was somewhere upstream from Larbert, where a bridge existed at least as early as 1651 (Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections*, i, 331) and close to which the Roman crossing had been.

Wood. The king's desire to break the insurgents outright explains his decision to fight a pitched battle in the open rather than to take advantage of one of the natural obstacles that they had to pass—for example the Tor Burn, which enters a ravine just east of the north-west corner of the Tor Wood and is impassable by mounted troops for a mile downstream from that point except where it is now bridged (833855, 835857)¹; or alternatively the Bannock Burn, the banks of which are steep downstream from Milton (802899) to a point below Bannockburn village. It is true that some difficulty may be felt about the timing of the movements in relation to the distances covered, as the southern edge of the existing Tor Wood is over six miles from Stirling; but this difficulty can be overcome by supposing either, as Pitscottie implies, that flight and pursuit had begun while fighting still continued in the wood, or that, in 1488, the name 'Tor Wood' was applied to an area of woodland or park, interrupted by larger or smaller open spaces, which extended further northwards than the wood that we know today. On either of these assumptions, and both of them may well be correct, the time-table of the movements described would be reasonable enough. One thing, at any rate, is clear—that the Sauchie Burn could never have entered the picture as drawn by Pitscottie. This small stream rises in the foothills of the Lennox massif more than a mile west-south-west of Old Sauchie (761881), descends in an easterly direction, swings north while still nearly a mile and a half west of the route from Larbert, and joins the Bannock Burn above Chartershall Bridge at a point (788902) seven furlongs west-north-west of the Roman road and half a mile further from Bannockburn village (see Map). Its northward-going stretch runs in a shallow valley which separates an area of flattish rolling upland, the top of which rises to 321 ft. above sea-level, from the higher foothills to the west, and even if the battlefield were placed, as it is by Nimmo (*infra*, p. 96), on this upland area (7888, 7889) and not on the burn itself, it would still lie more than a mile too far to the west to fit in with Pitscottie's narrative. The same would be true if the insurgents were assumed to have crossed the Carron at Dunipace, another old

¹ These and the other similar references used in this article are to the 6-inch O.S. map on National Grid sheet lines, 100-kilometre square NS, formerly numbered 26. They can also be found on the 1-inch O.S. map, either the 7th series, sheets 54, 55 and 61, or the Popular Edition, sheet 67.

bridge-site,¹ and not at Larbert, as the route from Dunipace to Stirling joins up with the Roman road just short of the area in question (805884).

To accept Pitscottie's story of the battle is not, of course, to approve his account of the king's murder, as the latter has clearly been adapted, for romantic effect, from Boece's account of the murder of Sir John Comyn as given in Bellenden's translation.² This had appeared in 1536. There is also an artificial element of *εἰρωνεία* in the remark that Lord Lindsay made when he gave the king the courser that brought him to his death.³ However, these departures from the straight historical path need not necessarily be held to invalidate the narrative of the battle, as this seems fairly free of romantic elements.

Pitscottie's narrative having thus provided no grounds for placing the battlefield on, or even near, the Sauchie Burn, the next step is to see what appears in the later sources.

The first of these is Bishop Lesley's short work in Scots, which was written between 1568 and 1570.⁴ Lesley differs from Pitscottie in saying that the king had not been joined by the northern earls before the battle, and he goes on '... bot raschely past furth of the said toun [Stirling] ... and jonit in battell aganis his ennemyeis, at Bannok burn within tua myle to Strivelinge ...'. Dalrymple's translation of Lesley's later Latin work appeared in 1578, and uses much the same language ('... stoutlie meite the ennimies, at Bannokburne, tua myles fra Striueling'), but adds, evidently on the translator's own authority, that 'fra that day to this' the battle was 'callit the feild of Bannokburne'.⁵ Meanwhile there had appeared Ferrerius' *Scotorum Historiae*, in 1575, and Holinshed's *Chronicle*, in 1577. Ferrerius describes the battle sensibly and in considerable detail, though without saying exactly where it was fought. However, his statements that the king 'non procul a

¹ Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections*, loc. cit.

² Boece, *The History and Chronicles of Scotland* (1831), ii, 380: '... went to the Cumin [who was lying wounded in the church at Dumfries] and inquirit him gif he had ony deidis woundis; or gif he trowit to recovir, gif he had ony gud surrigiane. And becaus he said he nicht recovir, they straik him iii or iv othir straikis, mair cruelly; and sone eftir he gaif the gaist. ...'

Lindsay of Pitscottie, op. cit., 209: '[The priest] kneillit doune wpoun his knie and speirit at the kingis grace gif he might leif gif he had good leiching, quho ansuerit him and said he trowit he might. ... [The priest] pullit out ane quhinger and gif him foure or fyue straikis ewin to the hart. ...'

³ Lindsay of Pitscottie, op. cit., 205.

⁴ *The History of Scotland, etc.*, Bannatyne Club (1830), 57.

⁵ *The Historie of Scotland* (Scot. Text Soc.), ii, 105.

Sterlingi oppido ad Bannokburne vicum, Borealiū copiarum adventum opperiens, castra locat. Adversarii autem . . . propius Regem belli aciem bene instructam promovent', and that, after fruitless negotiations, the insurgents 'in sui regis aciem totis viribus hostilia arma ferunt',¹ suggest that he thought of the fighting as having taken place somewhere near Bannockburn village, in which he makes the king take refuge after his flight. His account differs materially from that of Pitscottie, and in particular he describes the king's murder as a normal incident in the pursuit. The use of such expressions as 'ut fama est', 'ut accepimus' and 'quod a majoribus saepe accepimus' suggests that his sources may have been verbal; and it is tempting to suppose that a verbal tradition of the events may have been preserved at Cambuskenneth Abbey, where the king was buried. Holinshed favours the Bannockburn site, but verbal correspondences with Lesley's earlier work² show that he was following this closely, and he therefore adds nothing to its authority.

In 1582 there appeared George Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*. Buchanan had probably seen Pitscottie's work in manuscript, as the opening of his thirteenth book³ bears a significant resemblance to that of Pitscottie's twentieth book⁴; but he introduces a number of points not made by Pitscottie, some of them political, and in particular states that James, when he fled, was making not for Stirling but for his ships which were lying in the Forth. The only hint that he gives as to the site of the battle is contained in the words, 'He himself [i.e. the king] took refuge in some watermills not far from the field of battle',⁵ and as the mills in question were certainly in Bannockburn village⁶ this may be taken as agreeing in general with Lesley and Ferrerius.

¹ *Scotorum Historiae*, f. 400.

² Compare *The firste volume of the Cronicles of England, Scotlande, and Ireland* (1577), 407 ff. with Lesley's passage quoted above on p. 93.

³ 'James III being killed near Stirling . . .' (*The History of Scotland*, ed. 1827, ii, 222).

⁴ 'James the thrid unworthelie slaine in this maner as affoir rehersit . . .'; (op. cit., ii, 213).

⁵ Op. cit. 220.

⁶ Shearer, *The Battlefields around Stirling* (1913), 44 ff., makes out a very strong case for placing the mill in Bannockburn, and not at the 'Beaton's Mill' that is marked on the 6-inch O.S. map near Milton. This conclusion agrees with the present writer's own opinion, that the building at Milton, which he saw before it was reduced to complete ruin, was an ordinary small cottage, probably of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, and neither a mill nor even of medieval date.

The historians who wrote within a century after the battle thus agree in a general way in placing it somewhere near Bannockburn, pretty certainly south of the village and most probably on the road from Larbert to Stirling. They differ mainly in the distances from the village that their several accounts imply. The emergence of the name of Bannockburn for the action as a whole need not necessarily rule out the possibility of its having started in the Tor Wood, or a northerly extension of the woodlands, if, as might naturally happen, the principal losses were inflicted on the king's army in the course of the pursuit, and consequently somewhere near the village. That the Parliamentary clerks of 1488 called this battle 'the feild of Stervilin' may have been due to a desire to avoid confusion with the Battle of Bannockburn proper.

It was not until 1655 that the first mention of the word Sauchie appeared, when *The History of Scotland*, by Drummond of Hawthornden, came out with the following passage¹: 'The confederates had passed the Carron, a river under Falkirk, and were encamped above the bridge near the Torwood: the king set forward with his army on the other side of the Torwood near a small brook called the Sawchy-burn. This field is a plain not far from that of Bannock-burn, where king Robert Bruce overthrew the great army of Edward of Caernarvon. Here both armies advance forward in battle array.' Apart from the fact that Drummond places the insurgent camp north, and not south, of the Carron, and ignoring for the moment the question of the 'Sawchy-burn', this narrative would appear to be generally based on Pitscottie; while the statement, made later, that the king was making for Wood's ships, and not for Stirling, suggests the influence of Buchanan. The allusions to the Tor Wood tie the operations securely to the line of the road, and the 'plain not far from that of Bannock-burn' agrees very well with the general conclusions just drawn from the sixteenth-century writers. The 'Sawchy-burn', however, if understood to mean the Sauchie Burn of today, has no place either in this picture (*supra*, p. 92) or, for that matter, in Drummond's own narrative, and the suspicion inevitably arises that some other 'Sauchie Burn' is in question. The solution of the difficulty may be found by identifying Drummond's 'Sawchy-burn' with the modern Sauchinford Burn, as this rises in a hollow immediately north of West Plean (811880), right

¹ Ed. 1749, p. 155.

on the line of the road and approximately a mile and a half south of Bannockburn village (see Map). On this showing Drummond and Pitscottie are in full agreement; and it is interesting to know that Drummond is likely to have had access to unpublished Stirlingshire lore through his friendship with Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, whom he visited at Menstrie in 1614.¹

Two eighteenth-century historians, Robertson (1759) and Balfour (1770), again favour Bannockburn, placing the battle respectively at and near to the village. A real break with the earlier historians comes, however, in 1777, with the publication of his *History of Stirlingshire* by the Rev. William Nimmo. Though evidently using Pitscottie, Ferrerius and Buchanan, and stating (p. 225) that the insurgents had advanced to the Tor Wood, he continues (p. 226): 'The two armies met in a tract of ground which now goes by the name of Little Canglar, upon the east side of a small brook called Sauchie burn, about two miles south from Stirling and one mile from the famous field of Bannockburn.' Later (p. 233) he states, evidently referring to the Act of October 1488 (*supra*), 'This battle . . . was called the Field of Stirling'; and to this passage the editor of the 1817 edition, the Rev. W. Macgregor Stirling, adds a footnote worded, 'The battle of Sauchieburn is a better name as distinguishing it from the action between Wallace and the English in 1297.' It is probably to this footnote that we owe the name that now appears in the text-books.

Now it is true that Nimmo, as parish minister of Bothkennar, would have been perfectly placed to tap any local traditions which might have survived the 282 years that had passed since the date of the battle; and it is also true that he mentions (pp. 231 ff.) local tradition as one of his sources of information about the king's murder—tradition which may quite well have been genuine.² For the situation of the battlefield, however, he does not profess to be relying on local tradition, and in fact, by mentioning Tor Wood, shows that he is following, though confusedly, narratives which, as has been said, would have placed the battle more than a mile further east. Moreover, if we ignore this mention of the Tor Wood, and consider only

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 13th ed., s.v. Drummond, William.

² Nimmo's record of this tradition need not necessarily be regarded as conflicting with Shearer's conclusions (*ut cit.*) if allowance is made for errors, subsequently made, in its association with the cottage mentioned on p. 94, n. 6.

the strategical situation of the two armies as they were placed on the previous day, it is hard to see what could have brought them to Little Canglar¹ at all; and it is further unlikely that defeated troops, descending to the Sauchie Burn in a flight from this position, would ever have managed to reach Stirling as they would much more probably have been pushed westwards into the foothills. It may therefore be suggested that Nimmo, who was evidently well up in the literature, began by identifying Drummond's 'Sawchy-burn' with the burn that runs past Old Sauchie, then visited the place and observed that the flattish, rolling ground at Little Canglar was suitable for mounted operations, and so proceeded to make this area the battlefield without realising the difficulties involved. This mistake, reinforced by Macgregor Stirling's footnote quoted above, has eclipsed the more probable inferences that can be drawn from the earlier authorities and has permanently obscured the issue.

In conclusion, it is interesting to notice the way in which uncritical copying can perpetuate an error of this kind. Of the general historians who wrote after Nimmo, Pinkerton (1793), Scott (1827), Hill Burton (1873), Lang (1907) Hume Brown (1911), Rait (1929), Mure Mackenzie (1940) and Mackie (1952) all accept the Sauchieburn site either outright or by implication, as does also Dickson (1877) in his preface to the first volume of the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*. This last author goes so far as to translate the original 'in bello prope Striveling' by 'on the field of Sauchie'²; while Hill Burton provides a characteristic example of the Victorian attitude to observation in the field by placing the Sauchie Burn between Bannockburn and Stirling.³ On the other hand Fraser Tytler (1828) clearly associates the battle with the Tor Wood, while Burnett (1887), in his preface to the tenth volume of the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, implies acceptance of a site near Bannockburn by his allusion to Bruce's victory.⁴

ANGUS GRAHAM.⁵

¹ This name does not appear on any edition of the 6-inch Ordnance Map, but it is marked on Grassom's map of Stirlingshire (1817) and traces of foundations, etc., can still be seen at 784889.

² *Accounts L. High Treas.*, i, p. lxxi.

³ *History of Scotland*, iii, 33.

⁴ Pp. xxxviii ff.

⁵ Formerly Secretary to the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

Lothian and the Early Scottish Kings

THE name 'Lothian' is first found in contemporary use towards the end of the eleventh century. It meant the country south of the firth of Forth that was a part of the Scottish king's dominions and yet not a part of Scotland, and that was remembered to have been at one time the most northerly part of the English kingdom of Northumbria. Lothian extended as far as Berwick on the Tweed¹; that is to say, it then lay to the south as well as to the north of Cockburnspath and the partial barrier formed by the Lammermuirs. From the point of view of land travellers from England, who had to go round by the head of the firth at Stirling, the farther limit of Lothian was reached when they crossed the river Avon,² some miles east of Stirling. The extension of Scottish dominion into Lothian was not a north-to-south movement, but a west-to-east movement along the firth, at least in its earlier stages.

It is difficult to imagine that Lothian, having no immediate contact with Scotland north of the Forth except by sea, would ever have come into Scottish hands had not Northumbria disintegrated under the forceful settlement, first of Danes, and then of Irish Norsemen. In speech and customs Lothian remained predominantly English.

How and when the kings of Scots obtained Lothian seem not to have been matters of common knowledge in the twelfth century. Ordericus Vitalis, writing in Normandy in the middle of the century, believed that Lothian had been given to Malcolm III by King Edward as a dowry for Queen Margaret, although

¹ See the royal charter of 1095 (A. A. M. Duncan, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters' in *Scottish Historical Review*, xxxvii (1958), 103-4); cf. A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, no. xxxiv (1114 × 1124), and Symeon of Durham, ed. Arnold (Rolls Series), ii, 278.

² Ailred of Rievaulx (A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*, 197) puts the district of Calatria on the land route between Lothian and Scotland. If Calatria is Callendar near Falkirk (and Mr G. W. S. Barrow has given, in a letter, reasons that seem convincing in spite of some phonological difficulties), then the boundary of Lothian must have been the Avon.

this would be chronologically difficult to explain.¹ North-English tradition of a rather earlier date than Ordericus gives us two independent and at first sight incompatible stories, both going back far beyond Malcolm III's time: one, that Lothian was given by the English King Edgar to Kenneth, King of the Scots (therefore between 971 and 975); the other, that it was yielded to the Scots by Eadulf Cudel, Earl of Northumbria (in or soon after 1016).

There is more here than the mere difference of a generation. Edgar had been a great king of all England, and the submission to him of neighbouring Celtic rulers was picturesquely remembered. A grant supposed to have been made by him would carry weight. Although this suggests that the story might have been worth inventing for political ends, recent historians have tended on the whole to accept it.² Not all, however, have relied on the same version; for at least three versions of the story have survived, attaching different degrees of political importance to Edgar's grant. It seems worth while to re-examine these several versions in the hope of establishing the most authentic form of the Edgar story, and, if it seems worthy of credence, to see how it can best be reconciled with the story of Eadulf Cudel.

Early in the tenth century Norse³ adventurers from Ireland had established themselves at York as kings of southern Northumbria, between the Humber and Tees. Beyond the Tees lay what was left of the old Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia, whose chief strong place was the coastal fortress of Bamburgh, a few miles south of the Tweed. A remarkable English family, ruling the northern province from Bamburgh, was the Scottish king's nearest neighbour of consequence on his south-eastern border.

Under increasing threat from the Irish Norsemen, the ruler

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, viii, 22, ed. Le Prevost, iii, 395. The earliest documentary evidence for Lothian takes us no farther back than Malcolm III; see the charter of 1095, as above.

² F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (1947), 365; Dickinson, Donaldson, and Milne, *Source Book of Scottish History*, i, 2nd ed. (1958), 30; G. W. S. Barrow, *Feudal Britain* (1956), 128.

³ This is assuming the identity of Ragnald, who made himself king in York about 920, with Ragnall, Ivar's grandson, an adventurer famous in Ireland, of Norwegian descent. This identity has been questioned (seriously by A. Campbell in *English Historical Review*, lvii (1942), 85-97), but seems now to be generally accepted. There is no doubt about the presence of Norsemen in north-west England and east Yorkshire, the evidence for which, largely linguistic, was reviewed by F. T. Wainwright, *ibid.*, lxiii (1948), 145 ff.

of Bamburgh looked to the Celtic kings as his friends. It has been remarked that when the British kingdom of Strathclyde, which had close connections with the Scots, annexed, as it appears to have done, a part of what is now north-west England, there is no evidence of opposition by rulers of Bamburgh, although the annexed lands had formerly been a part of Bernicia, and, geographically speaking, dominated northern Northumbria from the west.¹ About 914 Ealdred, Eadwulf's son, of Bamburgh, fought unsuccessfully in alliance with Constantine, King of the Scots, against the Irish Norsemen.

Some five years later, a more potent factor intervened in the person of Edward, King of the West Saxons, who after a campaign in the north received formal submission not only from the Norse King of York, but from the Kings of Scotland and Strathclyde, and the ruler of Bamburgh. The authority in the north of Edward and his successors, though intermittent, must have dominated relations among the northern rulers. In 945 King Edmund took the momentous step of committing the kingdom of Strathclyde to the King of Scots. This was a policy that, once begun, could hardly be reversed or stopped. The Scots, now controlling the west side of the country to the Solway and beyond, would not long be content that their territory on the east side should end at the Forth. The district immediately south and east of the ford at Stirling, if it was not already under their control, must have come under it now.

The next event that we know of seems to mark an extension along the south side of the firth of Forth. It was important enough to be noticed in the Scottish Chronicle under the reign of Indulf, Constantine's son (954-62): 'In his time the fortress of Eden was made empty, and has been left to the Scots down to the present day.'² While some items in the Chronicle were evidently written down in the latter part of the tenth century, it was put into shape and edited in the latter part of the twelfth century. The editor, understanding *oppidum Eden* to be Edinburgh, could quite well have added the second half of the sentence; and in that case there would be nothing in the original context to suggest, as the complete sentence does, that the place was south of the Forth, or that it was abandoned by the

¹ Stenton, *op. cit.*, 327-8.

² *In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuatum est, ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem.* The source is usually referred to, after Skene, as the Pictish Chronicle. The passage is printed in Skene's *Picts and Scots*, 10. Compare my article in *Scottish Historical Review*, xxvii (1949), 38, 40.

English.¹ Assuming, however, that *oppidum Eden* was in fact south of the Forth, it is most naturally identified with Edinburgh. A glance at the map shows how the rock of Edinburgh commands both the coastal and the Lauderdale route between Northumbria and Stirling, and this may outweigh the fact that we have no positive knowledge of a fortified site there so early as the tenth century. But there are problems connected with the name *Eden*, and these must be briefly stated.

Eidin or *Eidyn*² occurs several times in Welsh sources (including the early poem *Gododdin*), but it is not clear whether all the instances refer to one place, and whether that place is Edinburgh. Three hundred years earlier than the time of *oppidum Eden* the Irish annals mention a siege of *Etin*.³ The context in the Clonmacnoise version of the annals (*Tigernach* and the *Chronicon Scotorum*) implies that it was Scots that were being besieged,⁴ and this suggests, at that date, a place not so far east as Edinburgh.

About fourteen miles to the west of Edinburgh is the parish of Carriden, for whose name no better etymology has been suggested than *Caer Eden*, 'fort of Eden'. The fact that *Carriden* has the stress on the first syllable, while *Caer Eden* would have had the stress on *Eden*, might be explained as a result of borrowing into English, not necessarily earlier than the fourteenth century.⁵ The pronunciation might also have been influenced by *carden* 'a thicket', of North-British origin,⁶ stressed on the first syllable as in *Kincardine* etc. A place called 'Caer Eden' is actually mentioned in a contents-list prefixed to a thirteenth-century copy of Gildas, and composed apparently by one Cormac, an Irishman or a Scot. The list was made perhaps not before the eleventh century.⁷ The sentence is borrowed

¹ Cf. A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, i, 469.

² The medial consonant in Old Welsh may have been a stop [d] written *t*, or a spirant [ð] written *d*; in the latter case the *d* in *Edinburgh* would result from English borrowing. A stop is indicated by the form *Etin* in the Annals of Ulster.

³ Annals of Ulster under A.D. 637=638.

⁴ Cf. *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. A. O. and M. O. Anderson, 48-49.

⁵ *Carden* in 1335/6 etc. (A. Macdonald, *The Place-Names of West Lothian* (1941), 25). Compare the local pronunciation of *Carlisle*, with stress on the first syllable (Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953), 687-8).

⁶ Cf. Kenneth Jackson in *The Problem of the Picts*, ed. F. T. Wainwright (1955), 164.

⁷ Gildas, *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae*, ed. Mommsen, 18. Comparison with Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, i, 12) shows that the passage should be

from Bede's description of the Antonine Wall, substituting *Kair Eden* for Bede's *Peanfahel* as the eastern starting-point of the Wall, on the firth of Forth. *Peanfahel* is equatable with modern Kinneil whose parish (later called Bo'ness and now united with Carriden) lies a very short distance to the west of Bridgeness where, it is now believed, the end of the Wall rested on the firth.¹ When Cormac wrote, the half-British *Peanfahel* had very likely become unintelligible, and he substituted for it the name of a place presumably well known. He cannot have meant Edinburgh unless through total ignorance, and it would be surprising if he did not mean Carriden. The Wall's end was actually within the parish of Carriden. The land, and the church, of Carriden appear in records from the twelfth century onwards.² There is no need to doubt that Carriden was well known when Cormac wrote. But what was the fortress denoted by *caer*? Cormac's *civitas antiquissima* rather suggests that it was the Roman fort that lies about three quarters of a mile to the south-east of Bridgeness, partly in the grounds of Carriden House.³

If *Caer Eden* was the Roman fort, it might indeed give ground for the suggestion that *Eidin* was a district large enough to include both Edinburgh and Carriden⁴; but it would not help us to place the *Etin* of 638 or the *oppidum Eden* of 954 × 962, since these were undoubtedly a native fort, or forts.⁵ The only promising site in Carriden for a sufficiently impressive native fort seems to be the promontory of Blackness, where strategic considerations make one wonder whether an earlier rampart may underlie the late medieval 'barmkin walls'.⁶ It is true that Blackness is nearly three miles east of the Wall's end punctuated thus: . . . *a mari Scotiae usque ad mare Hiberniae, id est a Kair Eden (civitas antiquissima, duorum ferme milium spatio a monasterio Abercurnig, quod nunc vocatur Abercorn, ad occidentem) tendens contra occidentem juxta urbem Alcluth.*

¹ *Ancient Monuments Commission's Report on Mid and West Lothian* (1929), 196-7.

² A. Macdonald, *ut cit.*

³ The fort was finally identified by Dr J. K. St. Joseph, first from the air and then by excavation (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, lxxxiii (1948-9), 167-70). Its site is marked on the 6-in. O.S. map based on a survey of 1954. Its Roman name *Veluniate* (locative case) was established by a stone found in 1956 a little way east of the fort (*Journal of Roman Studies*, xlvii (1957), 229-30, where the map reference should read NT/027807).

⁴ *Antiquity*, xvi (1942), 246, summarising the views of Professor Ifor Williams.

⁵ Professor W. J. Watson (*Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, 365 ff.) found that *Caer*-names between Tweed and Forth denote more Roman than native sites.

⁶ See *Anc. Mon. Comm. Report*, 192-5.

at Bridgeness. But it is just possible that Cormac had in mind something else besides proximity to the Wall's end. Bede, in the passage that Cormac had before him, says that Peanfahel was about (*ferme*) two miles west of the monastery of Abercorn, a gross understatement best explained as based on faulty information. But Blackness is almost exactly two miles west of Abercorn. Did Cormac know this, and therefore give Blackness as the place where the Wall ended? A graver objection to identifying Blackness as the *caer* of Carriden is that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Carriden and Blackness were distinct properties.¹ I do not wish to press the case for *oppidum Eden* = *caer Eden* = Carriden (?Blackness); but it seems to me worth keeping in mind.

If *oppidum Eden* was Edinburgh, the significance of its 'vacuation' is clear enough: the Scots must now have been in control of West and Mid Lothian. If it was Carriden, the significance is not so clear. The meaning of *vacuatum est* might be that the place was forcibly cleared out (by the Scots), or that it was vacated (by the English); or the original sentence may possibly have meant that the place was simply abandoned, with the implication that it became derelict. This last interpretation could hardly have been true of Edinburgh, but might have been true of Carriden, and it would imply that the Scots were already in control of surrounding territory.

In 954, the year when Indulf became King of the Scots, the Norwegian Eric Bloodaxe, who had been reigning in York, was driven out and killed. His death was contrived, according to one story, by Oswulf, elsewhere described as 'high-reeve at Bamburgh'.² Eadred, King of Wessex, made Oswulf Earl of all Northumbria, north and south, and there were no more Norse kings in York. Possibly Eadred arranged, before he died in November 955, that Oswulf should peacefully cede to the Scots the territory that included *oppidum Eden*. That would have been a logical continuation of King Edmund's northern policy.

Edmund's son Edgar was recognised as king by the Northumbrians in 957, and by all England in 959, but it was not until after his deferred coronation in 973 that he went north and received at Chester the formal submission of the neighbouring rulers, including those of Scotland and Strathclyde. This seems the most likely occasion on which Kenneth, Malcolm's son,

¹ Lawrie's *Charters*, p. 410; cf. Holyrood charters (Bannatyne Club), no. 41.

² Stenton, *op. cit.*, 378.

who had become King of the Scots two years before, should have received from Edgar a formal grant of 'Lothian'.

We come now to the evidence for that grant. The earliest and simplest version is in a minor compilation *De Regibus Saxonibus* (DRS),¹ which was made in the north of England, probably 1122 × 1128. It consists mainly of summary histories of the several English kingdoms. The section on the Northumbrian kings is derived for the most part from written sources that were available to Symeon of Durham. There is a distinct final section on the Earls of Northumbria, beginning with Oswulf. The evident source of that section was a tract which is known to us from two texts, one in the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon,² and one in the *Chronica* of Roger of Hoveden.³ According to them, in King Edgar's time Earl Oswulf adopted a colleague called Oslac, who thenceforward governed the York province, while Oswulf himself governed only beyond the Tyne, that is to say in his own province. In DRS's version, Oswulf disappears from the scene, and when Oslac is appointed by Edgar to the York province, 'Eadulf, surnamed Yvelcild, was set over the Northumbrians from Tees to Myreford (or Mireforth)'. It then goes on: 'These two earls, with Elfsi who was bishop *apud Sanctum Cuthbertum* [i.e. at Chester-le-Street], brought Kenneth King of the Scots to King Edgar. And when Kenneth had done him homage (*hominium*), King Edgar gave him Lothian (*Lodoneium*), and sent him back with much honour to his own.' The division of the earldom was made in 966⁴; Kenneth did not become king until 971, and as we have seen is most likely to have received Lothian in 973.

Assuming that the story is true, what exactly was it that Edgar granted to Kenneth? It may have been a mere confirmation of the state of affairs brought about by the 'vacuation' of *oppidum Eden*, signifying perhaps West and Mid Lothian. But it seems likely that Kenneth was able to obtain more than his predecessors had held. The term 'Lothian' does not help

¹ Also called *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*. Edited from Cotton Caligula A viii by J. H. Hinde (Surtees Society, li (1868), 202-15); from Domitian A viii by Arnold in *Symeon*, ii, 365-84. The suggested dates are inferred from lists of Archbishops of Canterbury and Bishops of Durham in Domitian, which, though the latest of the manuscripts, seems to preserve the earliest text. See Hinde, p. xlvii.

² Ed. Arnold, ii, 197-9.

³ Ed. Stubbs (Rolls Series), i, 57-59.

⁴ Oslac obtained his earldom in 966, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

us much. There is no certainty that it was not supplied by the twelfth-century compiler of DRS, using it in the normal medieval sense of, roughly, 'from Forth to Tweed'. If the name really did occur in a tenth-century source, this would be by far our earliest instance of it, and we could not be sure that the extent was the same then as it was a century later. Kenneth may have received East Lothian with Dunbar, so that he now held the whole of the modern 'Lothians'; or he may have received as well the lands stretching to the Tweed.

DRS seems to say that Mireford (-th)¹ was the further limit of Earl Eadulf's territory before 'Lothian' had been granted to Kenneth; so that, if we could identify the place, and be sure that the name *Mireford* (-th) came from a contemporary source, it should give us the limit of the land that the Scots held between the time of *oppidum Eden* and ?973. Perhaps in that case the place might be looked for on the lower Esk, near the boundary between Mid and East Lothian; or at Cockburnspath, on the boundary between East Lothian and Berwickshire. If the second element is English 'ford', it can hardly have applied to any place on the Forth itself farther east than Stirling, and Stirling must in fact have been well within Scottish territory before Eadulf received his earldom. Unfortunately the form and the meaning are uncertain. The first element looks like English 'mire', from Norse *mýrr*, meaning soft wet ground, but Sir Allen Mawer² found no instance of that word in Northumberland place-names within the Middle English period. In southern Scotland, although it is common enough now, early evidence seems to be lacking.³ If the second element stands for 'Forth', the compound *Mireforth* is difficult to explain. Norse *-fjördr*, 'firth', tends to appear in western Scotland as modern Gaelic *-ord* etc., having passed through medieval forms such as

¹ *Myreford* (Domitian A viii); *Myrcford* (Magdalen College, Oxford, MS. liii, 11, cited by Hinde); *Myreforth* (Caligula A viii); *Mireforth* (in the chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford, for which see below). There is a close relation between the first two texts and between the last two; so that the manuscript evidence is in favour of *Myre-* or *Mire-* against *Myrc-*. Skene's preference for *Myrc-* (*Celtic Scotland*, i, 369) was based on an identification with the Norse *Myrkvaðfjördr*, which he assumed was the Firth of Forth. But that place seems rather to have been on the west of Scotland (see Anderson, *Early Sources*, ii, 255; James Gray, *Sutherland and Caithness in Saga-time* (1922), 70). The manuscript evidence is evenly balanced between *-ford* and *-forth*.

² In *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* (1913), 306-14.

³ There seems to be no instance of *Mire-* or *-mire* in the index to Lawrie's *Charters*.

-worth, -wort, -furd,¹ but I cannot find any evidence that it could have been written -ford, -forth, by an English writer in the tenth to twelfth centuries. The element looks like English 'ford'. On the other hand, although *d* and *th* do interchange when 'ford' is used as a second element, Mawer² found very few instances of *th* earlier than the fourteenth century; and the part of Caligula A viii that contains DRS was written in the mid twelfth century.³

It may be that the compiler of DRS himself supplied the definition of Eadulf's earldom, 'from Tees to Mireford (-th)'. In that case Mireford (-th) would have little importance as evidence for the tenth century, and would be chiefly interesting as a place-name.

The objections to accepting DRS's story are obvious enough. The fact that it might have been worth someone's while to invent the story has been mentioned already. The story was apparently not in the tract on the Northumbrian earls that was copied into *Historia Regum* and Hoveden's *Chronicle*. So far as the division of the earldom is concerned, DRS disagrees with their version of the tract. The compiler of DRS does not in general show himself to be particularly critical. Finally, the passage in DRS, as it stands, can hardly be as early as the tenth century; the word *hominium* is almost certainly an anachronism. Nevertheless I am much inclined to think that there was a written source for the story, and that it may well have been an early one. The apparently pointless mention of Bishop Elfsi suggests to me that the source may have been among the more or less contemporary annalistic materials of Chester-le-Street and Durham, traces of which appear in the writings of Symeon and elsewhere.⁴

Since DRS's version of the story is not only the earliest, but also the simplest, it is natural to treat it as the most authentic. It has been suggested, however, that a still earlier version underlies the more elaborate accounts given by two St. Albans writers of the thirteenth century. One, which is not infre-

¹ See under *Knoydart*, *Moydart*, *Snizort*, in J. B. Johnston's *Place-Names of Scotland*, 3rd ed. (1934).

² *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (1920), 229-30, 260.

³ See Hinde's edition, p. xlvii.

⁴ Compare the expression *episcopus apud Sanctum Cuthbertum* used of Elfsi's predecessor in the *Historia Regum* (Symeon, ii, 130). After the sack of Lindisfarne, the episcopal see and surviving monks remained for some time *apud sacrum corpus beati Cuthberti* (*Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, in Symeon, i, 52).

quently cited as the authority for the cession of Lothian, is in the *Flores Historiarum* compiled by Roger of Wendover before 1236.¹ Wendover included, under various years between 745 and 974, some fifteen or twenty Northumbrian items that are found nowhere else.² He included also about ten items that are in DRS but not in the works attributed to Symeon or other related sources. Except for the cession of Lothian, which Wendover entered under the year 975, his relationship to DRS seems to end at 840. This, together with the fact that I have been unable to find positive textual evidence of his having used a copy of DRS itself, inclines me to believe that he actually used not DRS, but one or more of its Northumbrian sources, including one that contained the Lothian story.³

Wendover does not mention the division of the Northumbrian earldom. Under 975 he says that Bishop *Alfsius* and Earl Eadulf (the southern earl is omitted) conducted Kenneth, King of the Scots, to King Edgar. He then adds details of gifts that Kenneth received from Edgar; and states that Edgar gave also the land of *Laudian* on condition that Kenneth [and his successors?] should attend the English court on the great festivals when Edgar and his successors wore the crown; also that to facilitate the Scottish kings' journeys Edgar gave Kenneth a number of manors (*mansiones*) which continued in the possession of the Kings of Scotland until the time of Henry II.⁴

Wendover's Northumbrian sources generally seem to have been succinct chronicles unlikely to afford details of this kind. The reference to the wearing of the crown at major festivals is an anachronism, since the practice was introduced by the

¹ Edited by H. O. Coxe for the English History Society (1841). I have cited the more accessible Rolls Series edition by H. R. Luard of Matthew of Paris's *Chronica Majora* (1872). Paris virtually copies Wendover's text; his deviations from it are shown by Luard either in larger type, or in a footnote collation of two manuscripts of Wendover, O and W.

² See Luard, i, pp. lvi ff., for a list of passages added by Wendover to those that he borrowed from known sources.

³ Wendover includes DRS's statement that Ida and his Angles first landed at Flamborough, and some other items not found in other northern sources. (The statement about Flamborough is sometimes cited from the Life of Oswald attributed to Reginald of Durham, but in fact its author used DRS as a source.) On the other hand, his list of the sons of Ida (Luard, i, 243) resembles that in the Appendix to Florence of Worcester rather than that in DRS; he does not share (*ibid.*, 253) DRS's confusion over the sons of Æthelfrith; his king-lists (*ibid.*, 422-3) are not taken from DRS.

⁴ Translated in Anderson, *English Chroniclers*, 77-78.

Norman kings. It might have been suggested to Wendover by the account, which he had just copied from Florence of Worcester, of Edgar's belated coronation at Pentecost 973. We may compare his *mansiones* with the twelve villas mentioned by Florence as having been held by Malcolm III from William I.¹ There is at least a strong possibility that all these additions to the Lothian story were introduced by Wendover himself.

The other St. Albans writer who mentioned Edgar's gift of Lothian was an anonymous contemporary of Wendover. His work² consists mainly of passages from the lives of several English saints, in a slight historical framework. It owes its preservation to a John of Wallingford, a slightly later monk of St. Albans, and since it has no recognised title I shall refer to it and its author as JW.

JW did use DRS.³ In his earlier sections he copied it almost verbatim. In later sections, where the history of kingdoms is interspersed with lives of saints, he treated DRS more freely, often expanding it, no doubt in order to match the more diffuse style of his hagiographical sections. Between two passages of the Life of Dunstan he inserted DRS's account of the division of Northumbria and Edgar's grant of Lothian to Kenneth, making considerable additions. A few other Northumbrian passages in JW, resembling DRS, contain additional details, and it has been suggested that in them, as in the Lothian story, the details were already present in a source common to DRS, JW, and Wendover.⁴

It seems to me that most of these details could be padding introduced by JW to suit the style of his work. What he says about King Æthelstan's sister, wife of Sihtric of York, shows complete ignorance of the dates involved. He was ignorant also of the story of her virginity, told by Wendover.⁵ Her name (not in DRS) he gives as *Orgiva*; Wendover calls her

¹ Anderson, *English Chroniclers*, 108n. Cf. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville in *S.H.R.*, xxvii, 102.

² *Chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford*, edited by Richard Vaughan in *Camden Miscellany*, xxi (1958).

³ Reign-lengths of Æthelberht of Kent, *liii* Domitian (as A.S.C.), *liiii* Caligula and JW; of Penda of Mercia, *xxx* Dom. ('nearly 30' Florence), *xix* Cal. and JW. In Wessex, *Æscwine* Dom. (as Florence), *Eascwine* Cal., *Eascwine* JW. In Northumbria, *Acha* Dom. (as Florence), *Acca* Cal. and JW; *Osaf* Dom. (*Osaf* Florence), *Osa* Cal. and JW; *Scytlesceastre* (p. 376) Dom. (*Scythles-Symeon*), *Scidescestre* Cal., *Cyden-* JW. In Deira, *unum habuerunt regem* Dom., . . . *habent* . . . Cal. and JW.

⁴ Vaughan, pp. xi, xiii, 45, 47, 49.

⁵ Luard, 446.

Eadgytha.¹ Wendover seems to have learned about her from a hagiographical source that connected her with Polesworth in Warwickshire, so that it is by no means certain that her name was mentioned at all in Northumbrian sources.

JW's account of how Æthelstan collected his allies seems to have been introduced on purpose to say something (erroneously; see Vaughan's note) about Rollo of Normandy.

In speaking of the Norseman Olaf of Dublin, JW's *Norwensis* looks at first sight more correct than DRS's 'King of the *Normanni*', a term usually confined to the Normans of France and their descendants. This would suggest that JW is here copying from the source, not from DRS itself. JW had, however, the means of emending DRS's reading here, since he possessed sources of Norman history and could easily discover that there was no Norman king called Olaf. In any case, DRS's reading is not actually wrong; it can be a simple latinisation of the Anglo-Saxon *Norðmenn* applied to the Norse of Ireland (as, for instance, in the poem on the battle of Brunanburh).

As for the Lothian story, JW's additions do not correspond at all to the additions made by Wendover, so that a comparison affords no evidence that any of the additions was in the source of DRS. JW's additions to the story² seem unlikely to have come from an early source. He attaches the ancient names *Bernicia* and *Deira* to the two Northumbrian earldoms, but reverses them, a mistake that would hardly have been made by an early northern writer. The boundaries that he gives for the southern earldom, 'from Humber to Tees', could be inferred from DRS itself. His remarks about the worthlessness of Lothian to the Kings of England are historical inferences favourable to English dignity. His circumstantial account of Kenneth and Edgar is surely written up from the bare story given in DRS. He tells of Kenneth's keen desire to visit Edgar, of his being brought to London (a natural assumption for a thirteenth-century writer), of his claim to Lothian, Edgar's consultation with his council, and (of great interest if it had been authentic) their verdict that Lothian had never belonged to the Scots except in return for homage done to the King of England. The most truly interesting of JW's details, because he apparently speaks in his own person, are the statement that

¹ Ibid. There seems to have been much confusion in the chronicles over the names of Æthelstan's sister and step-sisters.

² Vaughan, 54-55.

English customs and language are preserved in Lothian 'to this day'; and that 'the old claim to Lothian was thus settled, but still the claim is often raised anew'.¹ In JW's eyes, the Scottish claim to Lothian, in his own day a vital part of the Anglo-Scottish question, had already been alive before Edgar's grant to Kenneth. However much truth there may be in this, JW's opinion is unfortunately not evidence.

It seems, then, that although the story of Edgar and Kenneth was already in writing before DRS was compiled, we have no more authentic rendering of it than that given by DRS itself, and that neither the additions of Wendover, nor those of JW, can be accepted as true parts of the story.

The position on the northern frontier of Northumbria seems to have remained stable for a generation. But in 1006, Kenneth's son Malcolm, who had not long been king, led a Scottish army as far as Durham, which he besieged. This was more than a raid, and Malcolm may have hoped to acquire by it possession of northern Northumbria. The aged earl, Waltheof, remained inactive in Bamburgh; but his son Uhtred collected an army from all Northumbria, including the province of York, and not only raised the siege, but inflicted tremendous losses upon the Scots. He was rewarded with the earldom of all Northumbria, and it seems probable that he now regained control over Lothian, or some part of it. That at least would reconcile what follows with the story of an earlier cession of Lothian. For after Uhtred's death in 1016, his brother Eadulf Cudel, we are told, fearing that the Scots might take revenge for what they had suffered at Uhtred's hands, 'granted to them the whole of Lothian, for amends and steadfast peace'.² This time there seems little doubt that the whole region from Forth to Tweed is meant. Our authority for the statement is the short Durham tract called *De Obsessione Dunelmi*,³ which also gave us the details of the warfare of 1006.⁴ It has inspired more general confidence than has DRS. While DRS reads like extracts from an encyclopedia, and we know much of it to be derived not very accurately from written sources, *De Obsessione* reads more like an original writing down of local traditions, concerned mainly with Northumbrian genealogy and the inheritance of

¹ *Sicque determinata est vetus querela de Louthian et adhuc nova sepe intentatur.*

² Anderson, *English Chronicle*, 81.

³ Symeon (Rolls Series), i, 215-20.

⁴ The date 1006 is taken from the Annals of Ulster.

certain lands. Whether that makes it a reliable witness for events of the early eleventh century is doubtful. It seems to have been composed not much earlier than 1100, not much later than 1140.¹ Its chronology is sometimes at fault. There seems, however, to be no external reason why we should not accept as valid its tradition that Lothian had passed (permanently) into Scottish hands after the death of Earl Uhtred.

Until a short time before his death in the spring of 1016, Uhtred had been actively opposing Cnut's attempt to make himself King of England. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Cnut immediately appointed a Norwegian named Eric to hold all Uhtred's earldom. Several possible interpretations of Eadulf's alleged cession of Lothian to the Scots might be thought of, but perhaps the most plausible is a suggestion made by A. O. Anderson, in an unpublished essay, that Eadulf may have hoped to obtain and hold Northumbria under the King of the Scots. His admission of Scottish rights in Lothian would be the more intelligible if Lothian (in some sense) had actually been held by the Scots until 1006.

Cnut did not become completely master of England until 1018. In the autumn of that year (if we accept the date given by Symeon of Durham²) the Scottish king with a large army crossed the Tweed (having already regained control to the north of it, as we suppose), and at Carham just south of the river inflicted great slaughter on an army that had collected out of all northern Northumbria, between Tweed and Tees, to oppose him. From the heavy loss suffered in this battle by 'St. Cuthbert's people', with the death of some priests, and the great grief of the bishop of Durham, we may judge that the bishop had had a prominent part in organising resistance. Cnut's Earl Eric may not yet have wielded full authority in the north, while the hereditary leader, Eadulf, we have suggested, was actually on the side of the invading army. The people

¹ Waltheof, Eilsi's son, grandchild of a marriage that took place 1066 \times , seems to have reached fighting age some time before the tract was composed; and Sumerled, who had escaped the slaughter of his kinsmen at the hands of Earl Waltheof (Siward's son, died 1076), was still living (Symeon, i, 220, 217, 219).

² *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*; Anderson, *English Chroniclers*, 81. Symeon says that the battle was fought in 1018, thirty days after the appearance (or perhaps final disappearance) of a comet, probably the one visible in the polar regions in August 1018 (cf. G. F. Chambers, *Handbook of Descriptive and Practical Astronomy*, 4th ed. (1889), i, 573); and that Bishop Aldhun fell ill as a result of the battle, and died soon after, apparently in 1019.

themselves might be expected to favour neither, but to be desperately anxious to prevent another invasion like that of 1006, which had so ravaged their lands.

Unfortunately for our understanding of the period, doubt is thrown on the date of the battle of Carham by a statement in the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham, that the leader of the Northumbrian army was Earl Uhtred. That would place the battle not later than the spring of 1016. Sir Frank Stenton¹ considered that it outweighs the chronological data of Symeon's *Historia*, since names are better remembered than dates. On the other hand, if the battle was fought before Uhtred's death, the course of events is difficult to understand. Uhtred, shortly before he died, had been able to leave Northumbria with a considerable army and join in harrying Cnut's supporters in the west midlands. It does not sound as though he himself, with the army of his northern province, had recently suffered a crippling defeat at the hands of the Scots. And if he had done so, his brother would hardly have been in a position to concede Lothian, for the Scots would already have been in full control of it. The author of *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, if he was relying on oral tradition, had perhaps no real knowledge of Eadulf's motives; but the motives that he attributes to Eadulf show that he himself either had forgotten about the battle of Carham, or believed it to have been fought after Uhtred was dead. For if it had been fought in Uhtred's lifetime, Eadulf would have had no occasion to fear the revenge of the Scots for events of ten years before; their revenge would have been taken already, at Carham.

The power of Cnut, completely established by the end of 1018, would have prevented the Scots from taking full advantage of their victory at Carham, but in the agreement that he eventually reached with them he evidently allowed them to retain Lothian, in its largest sense. Eadulf Cudel, as might be expected, disappears from the scene. Centuries passed before Lothian came to be regarded as a proper part of Scotland, but there was never again any serious likelihood that a southern limit of the Scottish king's dominion would be the firth of Forth.

MARJORIE O. ANDERSON.²

¹ Op. cit., 412.

² Editor of the *Chronicle of Holyrood* and joint editor (with the late A. O. Anderson) of Adomnan's *Life of Columba*.

David Livingstone The Scot¹

Don't speak Scotch. It is not so pretty as English.

David Livingstone to his children, 2 October 1853 (ii, 230, 144)

I like the Scotchmen and think them much better adapted for our plans than those on whom the University mission has lighted.

David Livingstone to Roderick Murchison, 14 December 1862²

THE juxtaposition of these statements suggests a certain ambivalence in Livingstone's attitude towards his native land: an ambivalence which may have some of its origins in the combination of Highland, Jacobite ancestry³ on his father's side and Lowland, Covenanting stock on his mother's, as well as in his reactions to the early Scottish Industrial Revolution and in the fact that almost half of his life was spent thousands of miles from home in Africa, in lonely, introspective circumstances which would seem, on the one hand, to soften his Scottish perspectives and, on the other, to sharpen them.

In Professor Schapera's excellent edition of mainly unpublished letters from Livingstone to his family many examples of this ambivalence may be found. There are evidences of his deep attachment to his mother—'Sometimes when I see a word in Scotch I remember it as it came from your mouth' (i, 196)—who was his symbol of the virtues of the honest poor of Scot-

¹ *David Livingstone: Family Letters. 1841-1856*. Two volumes. Edited by I. Schapera. Pp. 266 and 320. London: Chatto and Windus. 1959. 60s.

² *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone, 1858-1863*. Edited by J. P. R. Wallis (London, 1956), ii, 378.

³ There is some dispute about the origins of Livingstone's Highland ancestors. Alexander Carmichael ('The Barons of Bachuill', *Celtic Review*, v, 1908-9, 371-2) links them directly with Lismore. A. Maclean Sinclair ('The Ancestors of Dr Livingstone', *Celtic Monthly*, xvii, 1909, 168-9) is sceptical of this and quotes a letter from Livingstone's brother, John, in America in support of his view. R. J. Campbell (*Livingstone*, London, 1929, Chapter II) seems to support Sinclair. William Garden Blaikie in his pioneering *Personal Life of David Livingstone* (London, 1880), 3, appears to distrust the tradition that Livingstone's ancestors had been converted to Protestantism by a man with a yellow staff. But Ian Carmichael in *Lismore in Alba* (Perth, 1951), 177-8, believes that the staff was the *Bachuill Mor* of Lismore and claims that Livingstone's grandfather had direct connections with the island.

land. Equally evident is family pride and loyalty (e.g. ii, 261),¹ though Livingstone's outspokenness to his kinsmen, when he felt the occasion justified it, is not disguised (e.g. i, 71-73, 88, 155-6, 194, 197). One example of this, his criticism of his sister's suggestion that he should give up missionary work and become a trader (ii, 289), illustrates his feelings on the less attractive, more mercenary side of the Scottish poor, some of whom could go out to Africa, make their fortunes, and then look down their noses at the Africans. 'To make friends with them is something like making friends with the lowest Irish among you', as Livingstone once wrote home (ii, 152-3), with an obvious echo of the Glasgow environment which he had known as a 'piecer' in the Blantyre cotton mill and as a medical student at the Andersonian University.

Elements from this environment were clearly in Livingstone's mind in Bechuanaland in 1853 when, in a comparison with Boer methods of roughly carting off their opponents, he noted (ii, 235),

I have often seen a fellow in Glasgow dead drunk between four policemen. The idea brings back an old parody to my mind:

('Scots wha hae on whiskey fed),
Scots wham police aften led
on a porter's hurley spread
to the office gloriously.'

Although there was nothing prudish about Livingstone, he had been brought up in a temperance family and had formally accepted temperance principles when a missionary candidate in 1838,² probably because of the obviously degrading effect of drink on the new industrial working classes. Perhaps, also,

¹ Annoying evidences of family loyalty are the frequent obliterations and deletions by members of Livingstone's family of passages from his letters on personal topics: e.g. i, 18, 37, 59, 72-73, 86, 88-89, 196; ii, 38, 115, etc. It is important that, in publishing the letters and journals of African pioneers, the text should be given in full, wherever possible. Where, as in the instance of Wallis, *op. cit.*, i, lv, 'more intimate pieties' are omitted or, as in Wallis's edition of *The Zambesi Journal of James Stewart, 1862-1863* (London, 1952), xxvi, 'passages of intimate and personal, rather than of historical reference' are left out, historical foreshortening of a serious character is the result. Perhaps nowhere is the importance of the personal factor in history seen more clearly than in the Livingstone and Universities Mission to Central Africa expedition of 1858-64. Owen Chadwick in his account of the U.M.C.A. venture, *MacKenzie's Grave* (London, 1959), 166 and 168, uses portions of Stewart's journal that were not printed by Wallis: the value of the omitted portions is clear.

² Blaikie, *op. cit.*, 27.

the fact that the manager of the Blantyre factory—in the words of Livingstone's father,¹ he was 'frequently under the influence of drink'—told him that 'if he went to Glasgow any more following after education, he must lose his work' had some effect upon his temperance beliefs. An understanding of Livingstone's life-long feelings about temperance casts light on several episodes in his life. It illuminates, for example, an otherwise oddly obtrusive passage in his 1872 journal for the period when his thoughts were on the discovery of the sources of the Nile² and the relevance of ancient geography to these:

The Ptolemaic map defines people according to their food. The Elephantophagi, the Struthiophagi, the Ichthyophagi, and the Anthropophagi. If we followed the same sort of classification our definition would be the drink, thus: the tribe of stout-guzzlers, the roaring potheen-fuddlers, the whisky-fishoid drinkers, the vin-ordinaire bibbers, the lager-beer swillers, and an outlying tribe of the brandy cocktail persuasion.³

Livingstone's letters, journals and books abound with Scottish references and analogies, often seasoned with Scots (e.g. i, 59, 85, 148-9),⁴ which are always pertinent and provide an imagery which shows him as an unconscious but often highly effective prose stylist: when, for example, he noted that one African people 'carry the wood, and almost everything else in large baskets, hung on their shoulders, like the Edinburgh fishwives'⁵; or when he observes of the methods of warfare in Tanganyika that 'one of [the] chief men set sharp sticks in concealed holes, which acted like Bruce's "craw-taes" at Bannockburn'.⁶

His first biographer, Blaikie, noted that Livingstone's Highland origins and sympathies 'enabled him to enter more readily into the relations of the African tribes to their chiefs'⁷; and there can be no doubt that his Highland heritage influenced deeply his perception of African societies. It appears in such simple instances as Livingstone's comparison of the lines of African tattoo to 'a sort of heraldry closely resembling High-

¹ Campbell, op. cit., 60. Cf. also Sir Harry Johnston, *The Story of My Life* (London, 1923), 287; George Seaver, *David Livingstone* (London, 1957), 290.

² Cf. *Last Journals of David Livingstone* (London, 1874), edited by Horace Waller, i, 336-41.

³ Ibid., ii, 198.

⁴ Livingstone's references to Scots law are interesting and would be worth collating: e.g. *Some Letters from David Livingstone, 1840-1872* (London, 1940), edited by David Chamberlain, 176; Waller, op. cit., ii, 98.

⁵ Waller, op. cit., ii, 27.

⁶ Ibid., 221.

⁷ Op. cit., 4-5.

land tartans'.¹ More profoundly, it reveals itself in his picture of the arrested development of the peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika regions which he attributed to the Arab slave-raiders and the marauding Ngoni:

We can scarcely enter into the feelings of those who are harried by marauders. Like Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries harassed by Highland Celts on one side and by English Marchmen on the other, and thus kept in the rearward of civilisation, these people have rest neither for many days nor for few.²

What is less easily appreciated is the influence of Livingstone's Lanarkshire background on his understanding of African peoples. If, as Blaikie noted,³ the 'democratic sympathies' of his early Blantyre years were modified by inherited Highland influences, they clearly had a great effect on his attitude to Africans, as Blaikie was one of the first to indicate.⁴ But how much of the democratic influence of this Lanarkshire environment is to be attributed, directly or indirectly, to the effects of the co-operative philosophy of Robert Owen, son-in-law to David Dale, the model employer of the Blantyre cotton mill, whose New Lanark experiments took place only a few miles away,⁵ it is difficult to say. A connection seems to exist but the evidence for it is circumstantial. Certainly, in Livingstone's notes on such aspects of African groups as the educative value of children's games,⁶ the importance which he believed they attached to kindly treatment,⁷ and the severely 'functionalist'⁸ character of societies which produced little, if any surplus, he often displays an attitude akin to Owen's.

Owen, of course, had little sympathy with organised religion and Livingstone was a convinced Christian—though one who started life as a member of the Independent Church at Hamilton, belonged to a non-denominational mission, often read the Anglican service,⁹ and was ready to say a good word for the Jesuits (i, 161; ii, 255, 277).¹⁰ But both had a common attach-

¹ Waller, op. cit., i, 110. ² Ibid., 143; cf. also Schapera, op. cit., i, 198.

³ Op. cit., 4. ⁴ Ibid., 15-16.

⁵ James I. McNair, *Livingstone the Liberator* (London, n.d.), 33-34, 39-40.

⁶ Waller, op. cit., ii, 227. ⁷ Ibid., 201.

⁸ Ibid., i, 89-90 on the use of stone anvils amongst an iron-working people. Cf. Schapera, op. cit., i, 117.

⁹ Waller, op. cit., i, 222; Blaikie, op. cit., 222.

¹⁰ Livingstone seems never to have been disrespectful towards any religious belief, Christian, Islamic or animist; cf. Seaver, op. cit., 222. The apparently anti-Catholic passage in Schapera, op. cit., ii, 59, seems to be a pun on an African

ment to the new technology and science of which the Scotland of their times was an outstanding pioneer. This scientific attitude coloured the whole of Livingstone's approach to Africa.

In 1891, Sir Harry Johnston, who was writing Livingstone's biography at the request of his daughter, Agnes, censured Horace Waller, editor of the *Last Journals*, for his disregard and consequent loss of many of Livingstone's scientific materials and drew attention to the importance of his scientific work.¹ Later students of Livingstone were slow to follow Johnston's lead; but, in recent years, works on Livingstone's geographical² and medical discoveries³ suggest that the investigation of his contributions to science will be one of the main trends of future Livingstone studies. A detailed analysis of his African observations by a social anthropologist has still to be produced and there is room for one, if not more, monographs on Livingstone's linguistic contributions (e.g. i, 204-9; ii, 150), for it is clear that he possessed that ability with languages which is often said to be a Scottish characteristic. Furthermore, the evolutionary nature of his thought, his interest in Darwin⁴ and his place in the line of Scottish thinkers from Monboddo to Robert Chalmers and Hugh Miller deserve some mention in the history of the idea of evolution.⁵

It would be wrong to claim any special pre-eminence for Livingstone's economic thinking. Yet his views on economics are worth greater exploration than they have received. Here again he seems to be firmly in the Scottish tradition and there are to be found in his writings traces of Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' and of the poetry of commerce which was given such

with the name of 'Pope', pronounced 'Po-pe'. Livingstone's criticisms of the Portuguese in Africa (admirably discussed in a neglected study by T. Price, 'Portuguese Relations with David Livingstone', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 71, 1955, 138-45) were motivated by anti-slavery and political, rather than religious considerations.

¹ Johnston, op. cit., 288.

² Frank Debenham, *The Way to Ilala* (London, 1955).

³ Michael Gelfand, *Livingstone the Doctor* (London, 1957).

⁴ Cf. Waller, op. cit., i, 19-20, 341-2; ii, 213, etc.

⁵ One of the most informed recent tributes on self-taught Scottish naturalists, 'products of that peculiarly Scottish democracy which turned up a Carlyle or a Burns from social levels that would have extinguished them in England' (170) is Charles Coulton Gillespie, *Genesis and Geology* (New York, 1959), passim. See also Milton Millhauser, *Just Before Darwin. Robert Chambers and 'Vestiges'* (Middletown, 1959). For a contemporary tribute to the virtues of Scottish scientific education, see Francis Galton, *English Men of Science* (London, 1874), 215-6, 225, 255. Seaver, op. cit., 25, 33-34, has some useful information on Livingstone's early scientific interests and contacts.

striking expression by the Scottish translator of *The Lusiads*, William Julius Mickle, in his neglected preface of 1776 to this work. Livingstone supplies evidence of this in a letter of 1850 to his parents who, he believed, were about to emigrate to America:

You are fulfilling the prophecy which in a few years hence will probably be realised more plainly. Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. Emigration must take place from England sooner or later by millions. The subject will probably be the question of the day. If the immense capital which can scarcely find means of investment once takes the turn of promoting emigration, the world will teem with the Anglo-Saxon race. Capitalists are not likely to find a more certain return for the prodigious sums of money they now sink in railways than in the emigration schemes now being formed. If He in whose hand are the silver and the gold only turns the tide that way, the enlightenment of the world will not be the work of missionaries; nor is it so very distant as a poor fellow like myself, enveloped in the thick darkness of heathenism and seeing so little progress made, is sometimes despondingly disposed to think. Then let us pray that come it may, and come it will for a' that, when man and man the world o'er shall brithers be for a' that. (ii, 93)¹

But Livingstone's ideas on economics were not faultless. His over-optimistic estimate of the productivity of Nyasaland² is very apparent today. And his views on emigration were not without self-contradiction. At one time he appears to be advocating a kind of 'manifest destiny' of unregulated emigration (ii, 93, 115); at another, he seems to be suggesting selective emigration of a Christian character (ii, 190). At one moment, he urges his parents to go to America (i, 29, 188, 197); at another he criticises the United States (ii, 287) and urges them on to Australia. Sometimes he can speak against emigration altogether: 'Your little bit of soil is worth more than forty miles of this country . . . what is the value of land when there are no strong laws?' (ii, 189).

Livingstone's peculiarly Scottish preoccupation with emigration is revealed nowhere more clearly than in his interest in America (e.g. i, 98; ii, 51, 56-57, 93, 97, 189-90), an interest which was tragically reflected in the sudden flight to the United States during the Civil War of his wayward son, Robert, who joined the armies of the North and died of wounds in a North

¹ Cf. Waller, *op. cit.*, ii, 215.

² That this did not go unchallenged in his own day is clear from Wallis, *James Stewart*, *op. cit.*, 266-8.

Carolina prisoner-of-war camp.¹ It is most likely that Robert's choice of the anti-slavery cause was influenced by his father's clear feelings against slavery. These did not originate, as it is so easy to suppose, in Africa, in his witness of the Arab slave trade, but in Scotland. David Livingstone had strong feelings against slavery before he went abroad, which is not surprising when the depth of abolitionist sentiment in the Scotland of his youth is remembered. His respected teacher and minister, Dr Ralph Wardlaw, Principal of the Scottish Congregational College, was one of the leading members of the conservative wing of the anti-slavery movement in Scotland. The strength of Livingstone's anti-slavery feeling owed something to his correspondence with his brother, Charles, who had emigrated to the United States. It is seen in this passage from a letter in which he criticises his brother's apology for American slavery: 'Bad as the [British] factory lords are, let one cut off the legs of one of his workmen & the whole kingdom would be indignant, but the man who did so in America is probably a member of a Christian Church' (ii, 74).

The Scottish factor in Livingstone's life deserves greater recognition than it has hitherto received. Appreciation of it has been hindered as much as helped by the creation of a Livingstone legend akin to the 'log-cabin to White House'² myth of Abraham Lincoln in America. (There are, however, remarkable parallels and points of contact between the Lincoln and Livingstone stories, not the least of which is that Lincoln, like Livingstone, was a man who straddled two cultures, for the Kentucky of his birth was a middle State, radically divided between South and North, the old and the new.) Not only does the Scottish factor explain much of Livingstone's African experience, but that experience, as recorded in his writings and letters, published and unpublished, is in itself a valuable source of Scottish history. The time has come for a complete edition of his works, major and minor, printed and unprinted. At a moment when a Central African nation is experiencing growing pains not unlike those of the American federal union, from Independence to Civil War, expenditure on a complete, critical edition of Livingstone would seem as necessary and as justified as the financing of the superbly edited editions, now in progress, of the American Founding Fathers.

¹ Seaver, op. cit., 452-5.

² Cf. H. G. Adams. *The Weaver-Boy who became a Missionary* (London, 1867).

Perhaps it would throw needed light on two other aspects of David Livingstone the Scot: his loyalty and his melancholy.

'I wish', he wrote to his father-in-law, Robert Moffat, in 1856, 'to name the [Victoria] Falls after our Queen, as a proof of my loyalty' (ii, 277). Was this merely a quip or did it have deeper roots that went back to his great-grandfather who had died for a lost cause at Culloden? Or did it arise as a reaction to the widespread British suspicion of independency in religion?¹ Or was it an attempt to demonstrate the respectability of the Scottish working class, which to so many British people of a different social stratum seemed a seed-bed of sedition? Certainly, in 1857 at the start of the widely-read account of his first African journeys, Livingstone took pains to point out that

the masses of the working people of Scotland have read history, and are no revolutionary levellers. They rejoice in the memories of 'Wallace and Bruce and a' the lave' who are still much revered as the former champions of freedom. And while foreigners imagine that we want the spirit only to overturn capitalists and aristocracy, we are content to respect our laws till we can change them, and hate those stupid revolutions.²

There are two other passages in the *Family Letters* for 1850 which, for all their jocularity, indicate that the subject of radicalism and loyalty was on Livingstone's mind during his first great African journey (ii, 75, 116).³

Parallel instances of Scots 'who made good' which may throw some light on the problem of radicalism and respectability in Livingstone are Andrew Carnegie and Alan Pinkerton, Glasgow-born founder of the American detective agency. Both Carnegie and Pinkerton had Chartist associations in their youth; yet both ultimately reached the peak of respectability and, at the same time, retained something of the feeling of the early Scottish industrial working class.⁴

And Livingstone's melancholy—are its roots to be found in

¹ Cf. Schapera, op. cit., i, 103; 'What right or portion has the State Church in me?'; ii, 97-98.

² *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), 7. Cf. the condemnation of revolution by Robert Owen, 'Address at New Lanark', *New View of Society*, edited by G. D. H. Cole (London, 1927), 111.

³ Cf. also i, 122, '... a revolutionary spirit is disliked by the old Tories'.

⁴ For information on the radical, Chartist antecedents of Carnegie, I am indebted to Professor Joseph F. Wall of Grinnell College, Iowa, who allowed me to read a chapter from his forthcoming biography. For Pinkerton, see *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1934), xiv, 622.

the forces that gave rise to such morbid effusions as Blair's *The Grave* and what appears to be a specifically Scottish speculation on personality conflicts, from Hogg's to Stevenson's pioneering novels of split-personality? To be sure, there seems to be something characteristically Scottish about Livingstone's reflections on a native grave, which he found in the Central African forest in 1868, and which called to mind the death in Africa of his wife:

This is the sort of grave I should prefer: to lie in the still, still forest, and no hand ever to disturb my bones. The graves at home always seemed to me to be miserable, especially those in the cold damp clay, and without elbow room; but I have nothing to do but wait till He who is above all decides where I shall have to lay me down and die. Poor Mary lies on Shupanga brae 'and beeks fornent the sun'.¹

GEORGE SHEPPERSON.²

¹ Waller, op. cit., i, 307. There is an interesting parallel passage in an unpublished Livingstone diary (August 1862 to February 1863) in the National Library of Scotland (Acc. 795, MSS. 2249) which does not appear to have been used by any of the modern Livingstone scholars (see Chadwick, op. cit., 249): '13 Sept. 1862. Prospects look gloomy for a colony by this river but I will not despair. If this road fails another will open. It is a great cause and it has been by Divine favour and influence that I have been allowed to call it mine. Am I to be a martyr to my own cause? I begin to think that I may not live to see success. Am I to experience that this cause is to be founded on my sacrifice and cemented by my suffering? Every covenant was ratified with sacrifice. I hope this may be compensated if I die by my death. Since the death of my Mary I often feel that I have not long to live but I will do my duty for all that.'

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Scottish Commercial Factors in the Baltic at the end of the Seventeenth Century

IN the seventeenth century the Scottish factor resident abroad was an important figure in the overseas trade of Scotland. It was natural that this should be so. On the one hand, in this period of emigration, there were Scots seeking employment in all the big ports of Europe from Bergen to Bordeaux. On the other hand, merchants at home preferred, where possible, to consign cargoes to Scotsmen completely familiar with the language, laws and customs of foreign cities, rather than to trust their own skippers or supercargoes to deal directly with foreign merchants.

The best-known of these factors are, of course, those officially appointed to the Staple at Veere by the Convention of Royal Burghs. Characteristically, their function was not to act for individual merchants or partnerships to the exclusion of others, but rather—as ‘factors to the Scottish nation’—to represent all Scottish merchants trading to the staple-port.¹ This comprehensiveness became typical of Scottish factors everywhere. An examination of the papers of half a dozen Edinburgh merchants in the years around 1690² shows how, in all the main foreign centres of Scottish trade, a few men of no official standing had gained a wide reputation in Scotland for their reliability as factors, and were apparently being used by nearly all the merchants trading to the respective ports. A large proportion of the European trade of Scotland was therefore passing through the hands of a very small number of factors.

This is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the Baltic, where there were three important centres from which influential factors operated: at Elsinore, the gateway to the sea; at Danzig, the greatest port of the southern shore; and at Stockholm, the capital and commercial centre of Sweden.

¹ J. Davidson and A. Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere* (1909), 390 ff.

² Scottish Record Office, *Miscellaneous Papers* (henceforth, S.R.O.: M.P.), bundles 37-41, 53, 159, 166-70, 226-34.

At Elsinore, the tradition of a resident Scot who could help his fellow countrymen at the Sound, went back at least as far as 1589.¹ In the 1690's, Patrick Lyell seems to have been the only Scottish factor there. He was probably a descendent of the bailie of Arbroath of the same name, whose three sons made considerable fortunes after emigrating to Sweden in 1638,² and he is described in contemporary documents as a merchant in Elsinore,³ suggesting, perhaps, that factoring to the Scots was only a small part of his business. Nevertheless, he was an important and familiar figure at the Sound. When the Privy Council in 1706 wanted to instruct the Scottish fleet to wait for a convoy to see them safely home from Gothenburg, the clerk was instructed to write to him as being the only man in a position to contact and warn the skippers.⁴ Probably he knew most of them well, and perhaps helped the inexperienced with the formalities of the Sound Toll, levied at Elsinore, on all shipping entering and leaving the Baltic.

It is clear from many documents that he frequently acted, for a commission, as commercial advisor and agent for the Scots trading to the western end of the Baltic. For example, a Kinghorn skipper with salt to sell was instructed by his owners to 'goe to Elsinour to patrick lyell merchand ther and take his advice wher itt will sell best either at Malmo, Lubick, Graipsvald or Strailsund and he will direct yow who is fitt at any of thes places to assist yow . . . and gett his advice wher ye will gett good iron to Buy and cheapestt'.⁵ Similarly a supercargo on a boat of Cockenzie is told: 'if yow come into the Sound ask for patt. lylls and he will give yow certain information wher yow cargo will sell best and yow may follow his direction'.⁶ On other occasions the skipper or the supercargo wrote from Elsinore that they were following Mr Lyell's instructions,⁷ and once Lyell himself wrote to Scotland with

¹ *Correspondence of Sir Patrick Waus*, ed. R. W. Agnew (1887), pt. ii, 396-404. The resident at the time was Richard Wedderburne.

² G. A. Sinclair, 'The Scottish Trader in Sweden', *ante*, xxv, 295.

³ S.R.O.: M.P., 168: Commission to William Craig from John Riddell, 16 March 1688.

⁴ S.R.O.: Privy Council MSS. Acta, 1703-7, p. 238.

⁵ S.R.O.: M.P., 168: Commission to William Craig from John Riddell, 16 March 1688.

⁶ S.R.O.: M.P., 168: Commission to James Robertson from William Lambe.

⁷ E.g. S.R.O.: M.P., 230: Letter to Alexander Pyper from Alexander Finley, Elsinore, 4 May 1697; S.R.O.: M.P., 168: Letter to John Wilkie from Robert Heriot, Copenhagen, 3 June 1697.

news that a ship feared lost had been reported to him as safe in south Norway.¹

There is no evidence, however, that Lyell ever disposed of cargoes himself, or took any part in freighting on his own account. It was, indeed, very unusual for a Scottish vessel to trade anything at Elsinore, and Lyell's own strictly mercantile dealings were doubtless with Scandinavians. His function in Scottish-Baltic trade was purely advisory, and, as most ships sailed for Poland or eastern Sweden beyond his circle of contacts, he was less important even in this capacity than the factors at Danzig or Stockholm.

At Danzig, where 'the suburb without Douglas's port is to this day call'd Little Scotland',² there had long been a flourishing community of émigré merchants.³ The trade was important to Scotland, as the main centre for flax and hemp imports for the linen industry, and as a market for native salt and herring that were becoming progressively more difficult to sell elsewhere in Europe.

Nevertheless, all Scottish commerce seems to have passed through the hands of two factors in the city. Full particulars of sixteen different ventures to Danzig are preserved among the papers of several Edinburgh merchants of very varying means who traded with the Baltic between 1681 and 1699. Of these, thirteen ventures were handled by one factor, James Adie, and three by the other, Andrew Marjoribanks. Adie was certainly the wealthier and better known of the two: he came from a merchant family of Roman Catholic sympathies in Aberdeen, and was a friend of Patrick Gordon, the famous general of Peter the Great.⁴ Nothing is known of the origins or connections of Marjoribanks.

Documents relating to James Adie give the fullest picture of the business of a Scottish factor in a great trading centre. These were necessarily more varied than Lyell's at Elsinore, but, like Lyell's, one of the most important was to advise customers on market conditions. In a letter to Scotland he states the prices current in the city for salt and herring, complaining of English

¹ S.R.O.: M.P., 170: Letter to William Lambe from Patrick Lyell, Elsinore, 4 May 1697.

² J. Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, London (1723), p. viii: the suburb may still be seen on modern maps.

³ T. A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany* (1902), 32, *et passim*.

⁴ *Passages from the diary of General Patrick Gordon*, (Spalding Club, 1859), 145, 154; Fischer, *op. cit.*, 243.

and French competition in the one, and Dutch competition in the other. 'Edinburgh lambskins are very much longed for', he goes on, 'but Aberdein Stockings are here in great plentie at prisent, the consumpt not very great now. For returns from here, is noe flax to be gott for money or at Königsberg [though] we have apearence of a very good grouth flax upon the green and . . . I could purchase percell new flax in 8th month. Aeqwant me if anything can be done with it about that time'.¹ Not all factors wrote so fully, but most appended price-lists.

The second, and most obvious, function of the factor was to sell the incoming cargo and buy the return on behalf of the Scottish merchant. For this he charged a commission, usually $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the sales, and drew up a balance-sheet of the transaction for the satisfaction of his customer: several of these survive, giving the names of the Danzig traders who supplied the flax or bought the herrings, and listing the various port and civic charges the merchant had to pay. A letter usually accompanied the balance-sheet back to Scotland: 'The present Serve to Accompany Acctt. of Seall your Herrings which Came pr Charles Wilsone and I am Sorry ye have turned to so small Acctt, but Truely it could nott bee well Expected otherwayes being ther was above 500 Lasts Scott, herr: all att ye Markett . . . the proceeds appear but littel, I am heartily sorrow for your Losse. If your Concerns had been my own I could not have done more.'²

Finally, a big factor like Adie had an important function in the mechanism of international credit. The late seventeenth century was, for the Scots, an age of transition in commercial practice. On the one hand, it was no longer normal to send or to receive specie to cover the difference between a cargo sold and a cargo bought at Danzig, though a few conservative merchants might do so occasionally. On the other hand, a cargo was still expected, more or less, to buy a cargo; merchants looked on each venture as a complete transaction, and expected to receive the profits or to remit the loss immediately after its conclusion, rather than to run a large current account in Danzig.

Nevertheless, there were, obviously, continually accounts to be settled. James Adie invariably used a bill of exchange, and very often it was negotiated through a merchant in Holland.

¹ S.R.O.: M.P., 228: Letter to Alexander Pyper from James Adie, Danzig, 16 July 1698.

² Ibid.

'This day I have remitted to Mr Jon Gordon of Rotterdam ye nett proceeds Mr Wm Coutts herrings', runs a typical passage in his letters.¹ Thus, despite the traditions of trade, a cargo sent to Holland could just as easily provide credit for Polish flax imports as a cargo sent directly to Danzig. The bills on Holland, London or elsewhere, which Baltic factors were regularly providing, were giving multilateral flexibility to the old, rigid, bilateral patterns.

It is significant that neither Adie nor any of the other Baltic factors ever negotiated bills through foreigners. The men in Amsterdam and Rotterdam were Scots like themselves—John Gordon, James Murison, Alexander Henderson, Andrew Russell. The impression everywhere at this time is of Scots doing business with Scots wherever they can. Doubtless they felt more secure that way, but Adie nevertheless sustained a considerable blow—his companion factor, Marjoribanks, wrote in a letter of 1699, 'no doubt bot yow will here how A. Henderson of Amsterdam has served poor James Adie, having drawn for his accompt above 5000 lib. sterl. with out any Affectes and Alexander Henderson is unable to pay yt'.² Perils like these made many Scots merchants distrust credit instruments, 'that come upon them like an Thunder clap',³ as a pamphleteer put it.

A factor could be, and often was, a merchant on his own account. Adie sometimes bought an incoming cargo outright, and made his own profit selling it in Danzig. Similarly, in 1681, he sent to Leith 'twentie small caske pott ashes' in a venture between himself, another Scottish merchant in Danzig, and an Edinburgh merchant.⁴ Possibly he traded also with Scots in Holland. At Veere, complaints of the Scottish factors trading on their own account to the prejudice of their official duties were numerous at the end of the century.⁵

As factors, Adie and Marjoribanks did not altogether confine their activities to Danzig. Adie seems to have had a partner or associate, John Mill, part-time at Königsberg,⁶ and, in 1687,

¹ S.R.O.: M.P., 228: Letter to Alexander Pyper from James Adie, Danzig, 24 September 1698.

² S.R.O.: M.P., 230: Postscript to an Accompt of Sale by Andrew Marjoribanks, Danzig, 7 October 1699.

³ J. Spruell, *An Accompt Current betwixt Scotland and England* (Glasgow, 1882), 49. This pamphlet was first published in Edinburgh in 1705.

⁴ S.R.O.: M.P., 167: Commission to William Lambe from James Adie, Danzig, 8 July 1681.

⁵ Davidson and Gray, op. cit., 402 ff.

⁶ S.R.O.: M.P., 228: Letters to Alexander Pyper from James Adie, Danzig, 16 July 1698, 24 September 1698.

Marjoribanks was negotiating a bill to cover transactions at Riga.¹ But Danzig was always their centre, and the efficient service they provided there no doubt helped to keep the Scots to their traditional market and away from the developing ports of Riga and Narva, which saw few Scottish ships despite their popularity with the Dutch and English.

Less is known about the Scottish factors at Stockholm than about those at Elsinore and Danzig. There is no doubt that there were many Scots in the town,² and that the commerce between Scotland and east Sweden, with its exchange of copper, iron, tar and wood for wool and other goods, was nearly as busy and important as trade with the southern shore. But documents about trade with Stockholm do not survive in numbers large enough to portray the factors in any detail. There was one, at least, John Charteris, who probably functioned much as James Adie at Danzig. He appears consigning goods for Leith; he helped to negotiate the sale of a Swedish ship (owned in Stockholm between another Scot and a number of Dutchmen) to a company of Glasgow merchants; and he was approached by an Edinburgh merchant, 'though unacquainted' with a request to honour a bill for him at Stockholm and buy 'shreets of Kopper and sols for Kettles, nott made but lous, not very great, such as ordinarlie comes for ye Countrie'.³ Other names occur on one or two other Stockholm papers, but it is hard to distinguish true factors from Scottish merchants resident in the city casually trading with the mother country.

Such were the Scottish factors resident in the Baltic. The odds are that this little group of four, with the possible addition of one or two more at Stockholm, handled at least half and probably as much as two-thirds of the trade between Scotland and 'the East Seas'. The rest of the trade was negotiated between local merchants and 'supercargos'—junior partners in a mercantile concern who travelled out with the stock. Sometimes the supercargo might stay for a short period in a Baltic city, going out with one ship and returning with another. This was perhaps the origin of a new kind of factor—the foreign representative of one firm permanently resident abroad.

¹ S.R.O.: M.P., 53: Average upon cargoes of goods sent . . . to Riga . . . 1687.

² T. A. Fischer, *Scots in Sweden* (1907), 21 ff.

³ S.R.O.: M.P., 157: Ledger Book, 1690, belonging to James Ker; *Deeds*, 169263, Papers relating to the Maria of Stockholm; M.P., 167: Commission to Mr John Charters from William Lambe, 17 March 1691.

During the supercargo's sojourn in a foreign city, even if it was quite a short one, he was sometimes obliged in Scandinavia to buy a burghership before he could negotiate business, a point which should be noted by those tempted to use Swedish burgher lists as evidence of genuine Scottish settlement. As Robert Heriot expressed it in a letter to his employers from Gothenburg in 1697, 'They are mighty sad pipoll hear: they asked me before Jno Grige 6 per 100 to paterniss the goods which oblidged me more to make my self a burger hear than any other things.' For these rights he had to pay 30 Rix Dahlers (about £7 5s. sterling) and an annual subscription of another 10 Rix Dahlers.¹ At Copenhagen, he wrote elsewhere, it would have cost only 16 Rix Dahlers.²

T. C. SMOUT.³

¹ S.R.O.: M.P., 170: Letter to John Wilkie and William Lambe from Robert Heriot, Gothenburg, 13 August 1697.

² S.R.O.: M.P., 168: Letter to John Wilkie from Robert Heriot, Copenhagen, 3 June 1697.

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Reviews

THE MACLEODS¹

THE student of Highland history who builds up a library may well come to think that clan history occupies a disproportionate amount of space on his shelves, while other ways in which the story could be told are sparsely represented or not at all. This preoccupation with history in a family context is essentially that of the *seanchaidh* of an earlier period, whose duty it was to know about his lord's ancestors and the great events in which they distinguished themselves. The defects implicit in such a frame of reference are obvious, and many of them have been carried over into the clan histories of modern times. There is the natural reluctance to speak ill of the ancestral dead, so that estimates of character sometimes approximate to the pieties of tombstone inscriptions; there is the tendency to think that a critical approach to long-established traditions savours of sacrilege, because what is venerable ought to command respect; and this lack of rigour may vitiate the handling of all sources of information, indiscriminately run together and inadequately documented.

Looked at against this background, Dr I. F. Grant's new history of the Clan MacLeod justifies its appearance in many ways. The plan of the work is to be commended, in that it is divided into two parts, with genealogical matter relegated to a forthcoming second volume. The advantage of this arrangement is that the historical narrative can flow freely, instead of being constricted within a genealogical framework, as in so many previous works of the kind. A book of this size (653 pages) has given the author ample space for developing her theme, and, generally speaking, the manner in which she has done so carries conviction. Dr Grant obviously knows a great deal of history, and not only Highland or Scottish history. She seems always to be aware of what is happening elsewhere, and is thus able to make the illuminating comparison, or to point out when the isolated incident bears witness to movement on a wider front. Even on such details as the cultivation of gardens, or the sowing of clover seed, or the use of forks at table, she can usually tell how far Dunvegan was abreast of current practice. The total effect is that of a narrative securely set in the dimensions of time and space. A perusal of chapter headings might even suggest another dimension brought into focus by looking

¹ *The MacLeods: The History of a Clan, 1200-1956*. By I. F. Grant, LL.D. Pp. 653. London: Faber and Faber. 1959. 42s.

at the subject from different points of view: 'The Arts, Agriculture and Landholding', 'Economic and Social', 'How the Clansmen Lived'—these are aspects of the history of a clan which have not been dealt with before, and it is right that Dr Grant should be congratulated on her achievement, even if there are some respects in which her treatment of the subject may not escape criticism.

Reference has been made to some of the pitfalls that have attended the writing of clan history in the past, and it may be asked how far the present work succeeds in evading them. Dr Grant has done a great deal of research at Dunvegan Castle, in the muniment room of which are the documents upon which she founds for so much of her narrative. Here have lived over twenty generations of MacLeod chiefs, and no doubt the place has its spell, especially for the historian, even if not so firmly convinced of the efficacy of the Fairy Flag as the present châtelaine is stated to be (p. 588). Can one be subjected to this influence and still write the truth about the MacLeods? In this respect Dr Grant acquits herself well in successive chapters of the book, but before the end there are signs that the spell has begun to take effect. There can be nothing but praise for her devastating exposure of the infamous episode of *Soitheach nan Daoine* (pp. 404-9), in the course of which she produces evidence to suggest that Norman MacLeod of MacLeod (1706-72) was implicated in this plot to take innocent men and women from the Hebrides by force and ship them for sale in the American plantations. It is true that this particular chief has for long been written off as the black sheep of the MacLeod line, but he is by no means alone in being portrayed in a realistic manner in these pages. The picture that emerges is that of a succession of men of considerable natural endowments in whom the urge worthily to play their part as chiefs brought out much that was both good and bad. On the one hand, they generally lived up to the expectation that they should be the guardians and benefactors of those dependent on them, acting the part of father to their people. (We now learn that at least as far back as the seventeenth century they operated a system of social welfare, whereby aid for widows and the aged was a permanent charge on the estate.) On the other hand, most of them were the victims of a vainglory which made them live far beyond their means and bring the family several times to the brink of ruin. This tendency was accentuated as they became more and more anglicised in outlook and felt obliged to maintain the style of living of the aristocracy in other parts of the kingdom. They themselves, while shrewd enough to be well aware of what was happening (p. 556), were apparently unable or unwilling to resist the process to which they were being subjected. All of which will be found fully detailed in this latest account of them.

The same terms of approbation cannot however be applied to Dr Grant's treatment of the nineteenth century. Here she confines her-

self largely to the Potato Famine of 1846-8, and to the measures taken for the relief of tenants on the MacLeod estate. It is clear that Norman MacLeod of MacLeod regarded the relief of the destitute as a personal responsibility, and was prepared for great sacrifices in order to discharge it. The motivation is the same as that already commented upon with respect to an earlier period. The net result of a situation in which expenditure rose and revenue fell was that his fortunes reached a very low ebb (p. 585), and no one need grudge the praise accorded to him for standing between so many of his tenants and starvation. But there is another side to the picture. This was an age when the human values represented by a chief and his following had come to count for less, and money values to count for more. More than ever before Highland estates were being looked at as business propositions to be examined for the possibility of higher returns. We might reasonably expect the book under review to give some account of how the MacLeods of Dunvegan adjusted themselves to this climate of thought, but it fails to do so, and we must look elsewhere for enlightenment. An author frequently resorted to by Dr Grant writes as follows: 'The work of depopulating the straths of Skye went on apace. The grassy slopes on the west side of the island being considered to be eminently suitable for the rearing of Cheviots, clearances on a wholesale scale were there effected. From Duirinish, Bracadale, and Minginish people were evicted. The population of Bracadale in 1841 was 1,824. By 1881 it had dropped to 929. The whole of the land in this fertile area was divided among six tenant farmers, namely, Talisker, Glenbrittle, Drynoch, Ebost with Ullinish, Ose, and Totarder.'¹ Dr Grant must be aware of these statements and others to the same effect. Yet she makes no reference to them, by way of refutation, extenuation, or otherwise. She lets the case go by default. Indeed, the whole of the nineteenth century is passed over by a sleight of hand that brings us from 1801 to 1957 in thirty-five pages, most of which are devoted to a chapter entitled 'The Spirit of the Clan'. The fact is, of course, that in order to arrive at a just estimate of what, if anything, the clan as an institution stands for today a thorough study of the nineteenth century is crucial. What effect did the events narrated in the above quotation have upon the spirit of the clan? It seems an obvious question to ask, but Dr Grant does not ask it, far less provide an answer.

The documentation of this history is extensive, and indicates a formidable amount of research. Yet it must be said that, at least in the earlier chapters, the value of some of it is illusory. It is not helpful to be so frequently referred to such works as Mitchell's *History of the Highlands*, W. C. MacKenzie's *History of the Outer Hebrides*, and Nicolson's *History of Skye*, when these authors in their turn provide us with few references or none at all. Thus it happens

¹ A. Nicolson, *History of Skye*, 383.

that Dr Grant's footnotes do not always lead to original sources, even at one or two removes; and this is the less excusable because many of these sources are accessible in print. (Take, as one example, the last footnote on p. 47, which does not lead, directly or indirectly, to the ultimate source for what is said in the text about the battle of Harlaw, namely, the Red Book of Clanranald.¹) But these signs of hasty *ad hoc* reading are less in evidence in later portions of the book.

A welcome feature is the recognition of the importance of Gaelic sources, and though Dr Grant herself does not have first-hand knowledge of these, she has made use of translations, or had them translated for her. In many cases, unfortunately, the information given her has not been good. To translate *Cliar Sheanchain* as 'poets of the old tribute' (p. 371 and note) is a typical specimen of folk etymology. The meaning is 'the poet band of Seanchan', i.e. *Senchán Torpéist*, chief poet of Ireland early in the seventh century; the exactions of his order were notorious in Gaelic tradition.² *Calanas* (p. 492) is a general term for the dressing and spinning of wool or flax, something that could not possibly be measured in ells. Another look at the document quoted would probably show that the correct reading is not 'Caeldos' but 'Caddos'. In the parish of Portree near the end of the eighteenth century one of the local manufactures was 'a sort of coarse woollen cloth called *cloa* or *caddoes*'.³ In Gaelic the word is *cados* or *cadas* (apparently from English *caddis*).⁴ *Sliochd a' Bhritheimh a dhearmad* (p. 369) represents a well-known Gaelic construction, and to render it (in breach of three rules of grammar) as 'the race of the decider of the omission' does not make more acceptable the novel theory proposed as to the Blind Harper's antecedents (which is based upon incomplete evidence), but has the opposite effect. These are only a few examples chosen at random.

Much of the substance of Highland history consists of traditions preserved orally before being written down—and the writing down has been going on for a very long time. This material faces the historian with a problem, and there are few signs as yet that a satisfactory solution is in sight. Dr Grant does better than many of her predecessors. Lapses there are here and there, but on the whole she maintains a wary scepticism unless documentary evidence tells for or against the statements made; and most of the traditions not subject to a check of that kind, or with little or no historical content, are confined to special chapters with such titles as 'Tales and Legends'. It may be suggested, nevertheless, that modern techniques have

¹ *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, ii, 212.

² *The Celtic Review*, iv, 80 ff.; *Tromdámh Guaire*, ed. Maud Joynt (Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, Vol. ii).

³ *Old Statistical Account*, xvi, 160.

⁴ See MacLeod, *The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre*, p. 506, and the references there given; to which may be added 'Do Chaddos—Of Lawn' in Alexander MacDonald's *Galick and English Vocabulary* (1741), p. 137.

opened the way for a more positive approach to historical traditions, by means of studying the nature of the material in itself. We should now, for example, be learning to recognise—and discount—motives that frequently recur and are capable of classification; and, again, the importance should be obvious of taking into account all available variants of a story, so as to identify the hard core that is common to them all. This is an area in which the skills of historian and folklorist require to be combined. In the present instance it would no doubt be too much to expect of Dr Grant that she should write a history of the MacLeods and provide an adequate commentary on the Bannatyne MS. at the same time. But how much better if this important compilation of MacLeod traditions, accompanied by such a commentary, were already in print.

Lack of space has precluded much attention to detail; but it is on this level that the book is least satisfactory. To begin with, Dr Grant has failed to reduce the rendering of personal and place names to any sort of system, as is shown by the fact that the same names frequently appear in different spellings without being in quotation marks. (The faulty judgment otherwise displayed may be illustrated by citing 'Alasdair Carrack', though most previous works have 'Carrach', which also happens to be the correct Gaelic form.) There are numerous errors in the names and designations of authors and titles of their works. The spelling of Gaelic seems to depend more or less on the sources from which it is taken, and varies from the strictest orthography to the well-nigh incomprehensible (in the witch's curse quoted on p. 138). When Latin occurs it fares no better (with nine mistakes in the inscription given in a footnote on p. 329). A sample check upon sources reveals too high a proportion of wrong page and volume references and of quotations which purport to be verbatim and are not; and some cases have been noted in which sources are misapprehended. (Even the map is not immune, with St. Kilda shown somewhat to the south of where the Flannan Isles should be.) The general impression created is such that, however great may be the merits of this history in some other respects, it does not inspire confidence as a book of reference to consult on points of detail; which is a pity, because it is a work of praiseworthy research containing a mass of detail now published for the first time.

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MODERN SCOTLAND¹

THE author's object has been to present 'a view of Scotland as the eye can see it and some glances at the past can help to explain it'. In the first part of his difficult task he succeeds handsomely, and those who desire a succinct but vividly written stocktaking of mid-twentieth-century Scotland will find in this little book an excellent guide. It contains eight chapters wherein, it must be confessed, past and present are at times confusingly mingled; but admirably clear summaries of contemporary aspects of the following topics do emerge: industry, agriculture, fishing, the Highlands, the law, and trends in politics, religion, literature and education. Nor is the author a mere cataloguer of facts and figures. His comments are usually penetrating, occasionally pungent, and always refreshingly candid. It has evidently been no part of Mr Reid's intention to be all things to all men, that bugbear of 'contemporary' historians who have to reckon, and particularly perhaps in Scotland, with a rich and potentially explosive diversity of opinion. Thus, for example, it would be difficult to improve upon his trenchant diagnosis of the present malaise in education. Here, as elsewhere, he recounts the main facts and does not hesitate to draw the logical conclusions that these suggest.

Having handled the difficult contemporary scene so well, it is unfortunate that in his excursions into the past Mr Reid at times appears to be well-read rather than well-versed. He makes some highly ambiguous statements, not all of which can safely be ascribed to over-compression. More alarmingly, he displays not a few aberrations of judgment which can hardly be explained by pressure of space. This is a thousand pities, for it means that the book cannot be unreservedly recommended to undergraduates who are only too prone to seize as lifelines brief plangent summaries of complicated historical problems.

For example, how true is it to write that before the seventeenth century 'liberty and religion meant more than wealth' and so to infer that the earlier Scots had no hankering for money (p. 31)? Mr Reid plays about with this thought, enunciating, qualifying, and in general creating confusion. It would be both simpler and more accurate to say that Scots folk of late medieval and Renaissance times lacked many real opportunities for acquiring wealth. Doubtless, virtues can be made of this hard necessity, but in the last analysis it is the hard necessity that is basic to the situation. Again, it seems neither fair nor well-informed to speak of 'Adam Smith's gospel of greed' (p. 41). Greed formed no part of Smith's doctrine, and it is a serious mistake to confound him with the later Manchester school. All his life he was preoccupied with morals, and this has certainly left its mark on his *magnum opus*, although moral problems as such could

¹ *Scotland Past and Present*. By J. M. Reid. Pp. 200. Oxford: The University Press (Home University Library). 1959. 7s. 6d.

hardly be discussed within the chosen framework of *The Wealth of Nations*. It must never be forgotten that in Smith's time 'laissez-faire' was a liberating and humane doctrine which sought to provide a way of escape from outmoded, restrictive practices. In his lectures Adam Smith defined the essence of his gospel. He was principally concerned with 'cheapness or plenty, or which is the same thing, the most proper way of securing wealth and abundance'. Adam Smith was not all head and no heart, as Mr Reid's stony phrase would seem to suggest.

Two obvious errors of judgment now call for consideration. 'Perhaps', writes Mr Reid (pp. 55-56), 'the Union actually checked the movement towards more productive farming, since it took some of the richer landowners to London.' Only the eye of faith, misreading two Acts of Parliament of 1695, can discern any such movement to check; and indeed it was the way in which some Scots lairds had their eyes opened in southern England after 1707 that initially led to agricultural improvements in their own country. Mr Reid also appears to confound the eighteenth-century improvements in the Highlands with the notorious 'Clearances' (pp. 57-58), which were essentially different and not very closely related phenomena, and certainly were not, as here represented, cause and effect. He antedates the 'Clearances' properly so called, and in so doing he makes sad havoc of a subject already sufficiently complex. Mass evictions were not a noteworthy feature of Highland life in the eighteenth century; and in fact in the 1770's and 1780's Highland landlords, and the government, were worried by 'the fever of emigration' which dragged so many of the small Highland tenants to America at the coat-tails of the ousted tacksmen. A re-reading of Malcolm Gray's *Highland Economy, 1750-1850*, which is included in Mr Reid's bibliography, could easily set these perspectives right.

When we come to the chapter dealing with the church we find even stranger statements. What are we to make of the following words?—'It was chiefly to safeguard the national Church of Scotland that the liquidation of the national state was accepted two centuries and a half ago. This gives the Church a peculiar place in Scottish history' (p. 68). It certainly does, but not in the sense intended by the author. One has to guess and grope for a meaning here, and despite undeniable pressure of space on the writer it is difficult to justify such sentences. Then there occurs a statement so bizarre that it can only be the result of extreme ellipsis: 'beginning with the first great missionary journeys from Iona it would show the building up in Scotland of one of the most influential and widespread forms of Protestantism' (p. 68). Is this due to lack of space or is it an oblique reference to that hoary old myth, the 'Presbyterian Columban Church'; and, in any event, what has happened to the medieval Church, which was not always a festering sore and which may charitably be supposed

to deserve at least a mention in 'the record of God's works through the Scots', as Mr Reid puts it? He does indeed later notice 'ecclesia scoticana' (p. 73) but makes little of its contribution to the development of the national life, preferring instead the juicier news-items from its days of corruption and degradation. Yet, curiously, for once reality goes down before sentiment in the picture of John Knox hectoring Queen Mary (p. 76), reducing 'this charming and intelligent but almost defenceless girl to tears'. This touching little *tableau* will provoke more mirth than sympathy in those who have caught a closer sight of the tough, almost masculine queen than Mr Reid would seem to have done. The Mary of the Corriche campaign, of the Chase-about Raid, or of Langside is hardly to be described in such terms of Victorian delicacy—not to venture upon her possible, but apparently unprovable, complicity in darker and even more nerve-trying deeds. No more can it be proved that the institution of Superintendents 'was avowedly a temporary arrangement' (p. 76). The late Professor Tout gave salutary advice for just such a case: 'when contemporary records fail, we must be content to be historical agnostics'.

Nor (p. 131) is there any real justification for listing John, second Duke of Argyll among the political managers of eighteenth-century Scotland. He had indeed a large personal 'interest' in Scotland, as Sir Robert Walpole discovered to his cost in 1741, but the Duke was hardly a political manager in the sense that his brother Isla was. Presumably, too, in stating that 'in fact Argyll's management continued till his death' Mr Reid refers to the third Duke, the *ci-devant* Isla. But in truth the treatment of eighteenth-century government and politics in Scotland is very superficial and fails to come to grips with the real problems of the time. The rise of the reform movement, for example, cannot convincingly be explained as follows: 'Perhaps it was the public commemoration by well-regarded Whig philosophers of the centenary of the Revolution of 1688 which really set the Scottish radical movement going. The French Revolution was only a year away' (p. 132). The cry for reform arose because of the increasing inadequacy of eighteenth-century institutions to deal with new social problems. In part, Mr Reid here pays the penalty for being over-contemptuous of Henry Grey Graham, whose *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* he stigmatises (p. 91) as 'an entertaining but rather silly late-Victorian book'. Graham's work is not beyond criticism, but it cannot justly be criticised in such terms. If the kind of scholarship that went into the making of this fine classic were endemic in Scottish historiography—past and present—Mr Reid's task would have been lighter and his overall results perhaps more imposing.

As it is, these matters, and a few others which for lack of space cannot be discussed, are blemishes on a very considerable achievement;

but happily they are blemishes which might easily be removed. Mr Reid's little book might then almost approach the olympian standards already set in this series by Sir Robert Rait, in which case Scotland would be the lucky recipient of 'most favoured nation treatment' in the Home University Library.

W. FERGUSON.¹

SHORT NOTICES

THE HIGHLANDS. By Calum I. Maclean². Pp. 216, and 23 plates. London: Batsford. 1959. 25s.

The author of this book, Calum I. Maclean, was born in Raasay, Inverness-shire. A native Gaelic speaker, he was trained in Celtic languages in Edinburgh and Dublin, and in comparative folklore in the Royal University of Uppsala, Sweden. For many years he has been a collector of folklore, first for the Irish Folklore Commission, and since 1951 for the School of Scottish Studies of Edinburgh University. He has an unrivalled knowledge of the folklore of the Gaelic-speaking areas and this book is very much the product of his many pilgrimages up and down country in search of the traditions, songs and stories of the mainland area of Gaelic Scotland. He has travelled and traivailed equally in the Scottish Isles, but these lie outwith the scope of the present book.

Many books have been written on the Highlands of Scotland by outsiders, some of them sympathetic, some inimical. Such books are not without value; for the outsider, by very reason of his foreignness, is often observant of matters that go unrecorded by the native because they are so commonplace, or for some other reason. Descriptions of the scenic beauties of the Highlands (not always esteemed in the books of early travellers!) often form a large part of books by outsiders. In this book the descriptive element is strictly subordinated to the human, and it is the Gaels—their history, language, literature, traditions, songs, social structure and economic conditions—who occupy the forefront of the stage.

An introductory chapter sketches the history of Scotland, with particular reference to the Highlands, from earliest times down to the Napoleonic Wars. In eight chapters, ranging from Sutherland in the north to West Perthshire in the south, and from Badenoch in the east to Morar and Ardgour in the west, he weaves the pattern of Highland culture from the results of his forays into these districts in search of folklore and he comments on social and economic conditions in recent times. He manages to cover most of the old Highland districts,

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² We record with regret the death of Mr Calum I. Maclean which occurred when this review was in the press.

with the exception, perhaps, of Braemar and Cowal and Kintyre.

The unsympathetic may be apt to dismiss a lot of this lore as 'old wives' tales'. But how wrong they are! They are, in any case, old men's tales more often than not. It is not unknown for some people to get highly excited, for example, over the migrations of some bird to Spain and to remain totally unmoved by the recitation of tales which may in some respects hark back to stories heard round the camp-fires of Gaul in Caesar's time. Coming down to more modern times, the Gael has a knowledge, handed down orally and probably unique now in Western Europe, of historical events going back hundreds of years. Those totally given over to book learning are sometimes inclined to despise such knowledge, but the activities of Scandinavian and other scholars have brought about a change in the climate of opinion in recent years, and the place of folklore studies in humane culture is gradually being more recognised.

Unfortunately, as Gaelic disappears, the old lore disappears with it and is replaced by nothing comparable. John MacDonald of Highbridge's father 'knew everything that ever happened in Lochaber'. But in those parts of the Highlands which have been anglicised the topics of conversation at the present time are probably not more interesting than the 'smearing of sheep and prices of tups' which the blind bard, Allan MacDougall, reprehended in the Lowland shepherds who were arriving in Lochaber in his time.

One of the most fascinating passages in the book concerns Mr Maclean's contacts with the Stewart tinkler clan. The origin of these indigenous nomads has never been fully cleared up. They are, of course, not gypsies in the strict sense. It is sometimes claimed that they descend from 'broken men' of the clans, fugitives after the various wars in the Highlands, in particular the 'Forty-Five, which was the cause of so much upheaval and displacement.' But why are the names almost restricted to MacDonalds, MacAllisters, Macphees and Stewarts? Were there no broken men and fugitives of other clans? A complete social study of the Highland tinkers, dealing with their language, traditions, beliefs, customs and crafts, would be well worth while. And time is short. They are gradually abandoning the nomadic life and are thus bound to be assimilated eventually. Mr Maclean found that Alexander Stewart was a wonderful teller of stories—historical legends, Ossianic lore and international folktales—while some of the women had a large repertoire of old songs.

Some of the author's views will not commend themselves to everyone, especially Scottish and Irish Professors, but he expresses them with a fine belligerent vigour. A personal grievance: he manages to traverse Lochalsh without any reference to the ancient stock whose blood flows in his own veins, and tells the tale of the siege of Eilean Donnain Castle *ad majorem MacRathorum gloriam*, in the furtherance of which the Macraes need little or no outside help.

In a second edition a few minor inaccuracies in detail might be amended. According to the contemporary Wardlaw MS. the tune 'I got a kiss of the King's hand' was first played at Stirling in May 1651, not at the battle of Worcester (p. 31). Alasdair Buidhe, who succeeded as Chief after the Keppoch Murder (although he was, no doubt, involved in it), appears to be confused with Alexander MacDonald of Inverlair, head of the Siol Dùghaill (p. 46). The Chief of Clan Ranald who fell at Sheriffmuir is referred to as Allan More. Should this not be Ailean Beag (*Ailean Beag a' chridhe mhóir*) (pp. 51 and 67)? The traditional account of the capture of Dr Archibald Cameron may not square with the historical fact that he was taken by a party from the Fort of Inversnaid. It is doubtful if he was a non-combatant in the 'Forty-Five, though this in no way condones the savage sentence inflicted on one who had undoubtedly saved the lives of many of his enemies by the exercise of his medical skill (p. 55). For La Doutelle read Du Teillay (p. 68). Other accounts say that the man who insulted Lachlann Lùbanach and Eachann Reanganach (?) was, not a ploughman, but the Chief of the Mackinnons, Master of the Lord of the Isles' Household (p. 95). Donald MacLeod, the author of *Gloomy Memories*, was not a minister (pp. 168, 169, 170, 214). Hugh Miller was a native of Cromarty, not Sutherland (p. 168). Mr Maclean derives Morvern from *Mora-bhearna*, 'sea-gap' (p. 94). Might not the correct form be *A' Mhormhairne*, not *A' Mhorbhairne*, i.e. an abstract from *Mormhair* (cf. *A' Mhaoirne*, the Mearns, from *Maor*)? This derivation seems to be supported by Mr Maclean's reference to a Steward of Morvern (p. 22). These are but trivial points in a book which every visitor to the Highlands might read with profit and pleasure.

ANGUS MATHESON.

RUNES: AN INTRODUCTION. By Ralph W. V. Elliott. Pp. xvi, 124, and 24 plates. Manchester: The University Press. 1959. 30s.

Runes and runic inscriptions have always appealed to man's curiosity, and, as even the old meaning of the name implies, have also been ever shrouded in mystery. In course of time several handbooks, mostly German, have appeared with the aim of giving a survey of current knowledge of the script and the numerous problems connected with it. The present volume is the most recent, and the only one specially addressed to the English reader. As such it naturally stresses the Anglo-Frisian branch. This might also account for Mr Elliott's preference for the 'western' theory of the origin of runic writing, according to which the 'cradle' is placed in the Alpine region, and the West-Germanic runes considered typologically older than the North- and East-Germanic. Here he has probably allowed himself to be too much influenced by the numerous German publications

on the subject (e.g. Krause, Altheim-Trautmann, Arntz, Baesecke, Reichart). Fritz Askeberg has given these theories the treatment they deserve and has put forward a theory of his own which is much more sensible, although it needs modifications because of some misinterpretations on his part of archaeological material, and as a result of new finds. Since the last war several very old (early third century) inscriptions have come to light in Denmark and south Sweden which must be taken into consideration. On this question, however, there will always be different opinions, and it would be wise meanwhile to be cautious in forming theories of how, where, and when runic writing originated, until more light has been thrown upon the cultural history of Germanic peoples in the centuries before and after Christ.

In a special chapter on the names of the runes Mr Elliott puts forward a series of rather fanciful explanations of their deeper meaning based on a theory that runes were 'not primarily utilitarian' but had rather a ritual and religious function. His explanation of **uruz* for instance is not convincing. Caesar does not even hint at anything ritual about the hunting of the ur-ox. If he had heard anything to that effect he would gladly have put it down, as (in the preceding chapter) he did with the really astonishing tales he wants us to believe about another big animal, the elk. Speculations like these, and also the theory of pre-runic Germanic symbols, cherished by German scholars, and given place in this book, should be used with extreme caution in an elementary introduction. Mr Elliott, however, might call many distinguished runologists to his side for support.

Besides these comments on the treatment of controversial questions of runic writing, where a more neutral attitude would be appropriate, one might point out some obvious errors which ought to be corrected in a new edition. The earlier reading of the Einang stone, cited on pp. 32 and 70, was incorrect. Beyond any doubt Erik Moltke is right in reading (Go)*dagastiR runo faihido* (Viking, 1938). The runic alphabet used in the Orkney (Maeshowe) inscriptions has been curiously misrepresented in Table III. Two runes have here a wrong phonetic value, the **ansuz*-rune was invariably used as *o* and the *ýr*-rune as *y*, while six 'pointed' runes have been left out, viz. those representing the sounds: *g*, *e*, *æ*, *ø*, *ō* and *öy*. Less serious is the misuse of Mr Maryon's technical term 'pattern-welding' on p. 19. It probably derives from the really bewildering differences in the meaning of the word damascening.

Despite these criticisms it should be stated that the book is very readable and that, apart from the objections mentioned above, it is a valuable introduction to the study of runes. The last chapter, containing a selection of Anglo-Saxon inscriptions with brief commentaries, is a welcome addition to runic literature, and this survey will be valuable and widely used, pending the appearance of a much

needed *Corpus Inscriptionum*. It is, however, to be hoped that the illustrations in a coming comprehensive edition will be better and of a more even quality than in this.

ASLAK LIESTÖL.

SCOTTISH FARMING: PAST AND PRESENT. By J. A. Symon. Pp. x, 476. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1959. 42s.

This is a book which all sections of the agricultural community could read with profit, from the farmer on the land to the student in the lecture room. It is the first really comprehensive book tracing within the compass of a single volume the whole story of the development of Scottish agriculture, from its earliest beginnings to modern times. Mr Symon is to be congratulated on accomplishing such an arduous task which has involved the sifting of so much material.

The collection and use of more of the obscure writings would have undoubtedly helped the author to bridge many an important gap in our knowledge of Scotland's farming, and would have been accepted by all interested in the subject. But the very business of gathering such scattered material is a gigantic task in itself. Some of the more vital records will never be found, however diligently sought, and yet it is important to quote Mr Symon's Preface: 'Although Edward I of England robbed Scotland of many invaluable records I have become increasingly conscious in the course of my enquiries of the vast amount of material stored in private and public premises that could shed much light on farming in Scotland in former times.'

Mr Symon's book will no doubt be the standard text-book for many years to come. It is a large book containing 475 pages, 12 full-page plates and 7 diagrams. Of considerable value to the reader is Mr Symon's system of placing references at the bottom of almost every page of text, and there is also an important list of books relating to Scottish Agriculture published down to 1850 (Appendix 1).

The first seventeen chapters, which take up more than half the book, covering pages 1 to 285, may be looked upon as the general historical account since it is this portion which, in the main, traces chronologically the important various stages of agricultural progress, from its early beginnings before 2000 B.C., to its present highly developed phase in the years immediately following the second world conflict. They therefore require separate attention from the remaining chapters which mainly deal with special subjects such as livestock, grassland, horticulture, each of which may be considered a separate historical review.

Chapters 1 to 6 are compressed into 100 pages; they rapidly survey developments before the eighteenth-century Improvers. The reader cannot but regret that one century so quickly follows another, particularly in the first twenty-five pages or so which give the bulk of the

author's remarks on the early medieval period. The Roman influence, though not as great in Scotland as in England, might have been considered at greater length. The discussion on this section, which all takes place between pages 8 and 11, could have been enlarged even at the risk of touching on English customs, which the author permits himself to do on other topics.

Perhaps rightly Mr Symon commences his discussion on medieval developments by pointing out that despite historical research, very little is known about developments in British agriculture, especially in Scotland, during the six centuries between the departure of the Romans and the Norman invasions. Nevertheless, it is wearisome to see the oft repeated phrase 'the so-called Dark Ages', and it is difficult to believe that historical research has been as diligently carried out as one is led to believe. The happenings of early medieval times are vital to both Scottish and English agriculture, for during those early centuries the foundations were laid for what were to become the traditional methods of land use, namely the Infield and Outfield system in Scotland, and probably in Wales, and the Open Field system in England. To be properly understood, the whole business of land utilisation requires detailed explanations, and it would have been helpful to readers if Mr Symon had been able to inject further material into his writings of these earlier centuries. The influence of the Angles is passed by in just a few pages. Relevant diagrams on the practices described at page 16 would have been useful, and the inclusion of existing aerial photographs of small Celtic fields, lynchets, strips and rigs would have been well worth while. Nothing at all is mentioned of the possible influence of the Danes in Scotland before we go on to read about the period which gives the author greater scope, the Norman period.

Coming down to still later centuries one never tires of the thrilling accounts of the eighteenth-century Improvers and their pioneering work towards more efficient and less laborious methods of farming, and it is to this aspect of the Agricultural Revolution that Mr Symon has given full weight. An equally intensive study of the social life on the land in those times would have been illuminating to the reader of agricultural history, but the author has chosen to deal mainly with the technical aspects of his subject and with personalities: John Cockburn, Lord Kames, Robert Barclay, and, of course, Sir John Sinclair, who, along with numerous others, are discussed in an absorbing way. Other important persons connected with the Agricultural Revolution are discussed in chapters in the second half of the book which deal with specific aspects of farming. For example, Chapter 24 gives a vivid account of the introduction of implements during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: James Small and his plough, Andrew Meikle and his threshing machine, Patrick Bell and his reaper, and so forth.

This specific treatment of half a dozen and more different aspects of agriculture is a rather daring approach to a historical account. Whilst it may not be altogether acceptable to the student and lecturer in history, to the agricultural specialist it is an excellent approach, relieving him of the task of dissecting, from the main body of the work, those facts which interest him most.

A profoundly interesting chapter is that entitled 'The Second World War 1939-1945' and to its pages Mr Symon has infused a sense of urgency, recapturing the amazing spirit shown by all sections of the agricultural community during those momentous years. Were it not for the fact that, in the providence of God, Government policies were generally wise, Agricultural Executive Committees' efforts outstanding and farmers' responses to the urgent needs of the times magnificent, the history of Scottish farming in the years immediately following the war might have been very different to that recorded in the chapter entitled 'Post War Production 1946-1954'.

To conclude, this most engrossing story does much to facilitate our study of the history of Scottish agriculture. At last we have a solid book which touches on many of the principal features of farming, both past and present, and Mr Symon may be sure that his diligent labours will be appreciated by everyone connected with the industry.

M. J. NASH.

THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB. Vol. xxx. Pp. viii, 218. Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable (For the Members of the Club). 1959.

In this volume the Club well maintains the service of providing 'a wealth of historic information, diligently gleaned first hand from all sources available', to which Dr J. S. Richardson refers in his Jubilee Address to the Club, printed at the end.

Mr G. W. S. Barrow by a very satisfying piece of reasoning proves the identity of Duddingston with Treverlen, an early site not previously located, to which part of Arthur's Seat belonged before being given to Kelso Abbey in the twelfth century.

Mr Basil Skinner's detailed description of the Water of Leith Village and his identification of the position of old buildings, roads, dams, and lades is not only a reconstruction of former topography but a contribution to economic history. In his account of the origins of the Dean Bridge he reveals that there was disagreement, due at the best to sheer muddling, as to who should design it, until the matter was settled by the appointment of Telford.

From unpublished material in the City Archives, Miss Armet builds up the story of the acquisition by the two Ramsays, especially the painter, of their land east of the Castle Esplanade, and in the course of doing so gives some information about other property near by.

Miss Tait's account of William's Hut in Sylvan Place, with Mr K. Cruft's note on its architecture, draws attention to one of those interesting eighteenth-century houses which deserve to be known.

The Journal of Jessie Allan, contributed by Mr William Park, depicts the life of a well-to-do young woman from 1803 to 1810, all sea-bathing before breakfast, riding, surprisingly long walks, sketching, and entertainments in the fashionable places of resort. She occasionally writes of more general happenings—the new streets going up, fears of a French landing at Leith—and of men already, or destined to be, celebrities.

In 'Lost Opportunities' Mr Butchart recalls several projects made for the embellishment of the city and never fulfilled—some of them mercifully. In the earlier nineteenth century planning was on a grand scale, and in their designs for great streets and handsome edifices the planners could happily plot the flattening of whole quarters without fear of censure. Communication between the Old and New Towns being especially important, several projects centred on the still nakedly earthen Mound. Various plans were made to overcome the problem of the difference in level; some boldly included the driving of a cutting or a tunnel right through the ridge of the Lawnmarket to the Grassmarket. The inspiration was mainly classical, and piazzas, porticoes, arcades, and triumphal arches were lavishly envisaged. By the middle of the century taste had become medieval, and Wallace and Bruce were to be commemorated by a 'Runic or Ancient Scottish Cross', and the Prince Consort by 'a rich Gothic cross surmounted by a modelled cope and plinth', with a statue of the Prince on top. Meanwhile, the 'National Monument' remained unfinished and awaiting something to which it should be a monument. It was originally intended, in 1816, to commemorate 'the glorious naval and military achievements of the late war' (not the fallen only, as is sometimes supposed), but as time ran on interest in the war faded, and various purposes were proposed in succession. It was to contain 'illustrations of Scottish history', or, later, sculptured portraits of great men of all nations and periods; or it was to be a Scottish National Gallery of Art, or, yet later, a memorial to the War of 1914.

Mr Butchart's paper is complemented by the extracts from an Edinburgh diary from 1829 to 1833, which Mr D. G. Moir continues from the previous volume, for they tell, among other things, of plans for building actually being carried out; the cost was, however, causing much concern. The diary is of interest in recording not merely doings but the current talk about them.

Distinguished old shops, now gone or merged in wider concerns, deserve record no less than solid monuments that have been obliterated by modern improvements, and several such are mentioned in the history of Edinburgh shops and shopmen from the eighteenth

century to the present day which Mr Marwick tells, relating it to the general development of retail trade.

An inventory of 1709 and a list of Edinburgh MSS. in the Public Libraries complete the volume.

M. R. DOBIE.

A MONASTERY IN MORAY: THE STORY OF PLUSCARDEN PRIORY, 1230-1948. By Peter F. Anson. Pp. xii, 211. London: S.P.C.K. 1959. 30s.

This volume, embodying much of the material which has come to light since the publication in 1881 of the *History of the Religious House of Pluscarden* by the Rev. S. R. McPhail, is a welcome addition to the history of Scottish monasticism.

The Priory was founded from Val des Choux in 1230 or 1231, and this original connection was maintained until its severance in 1453/4 by the union to Pluscarden of the Priory of Urquhart, the monks of the former accepting the Benedictine Rule, while the united house became dependent, as had been that of Urquhart, upon Dunfermline Abbey.

Stormier days lay ahead however, and a full account is given of the events which led to the erection of the Priory in 1587 as a free barony on behalf of Alexander Seton. The cankers inherent in medieval monasticism are closely analysed, particular attention being paid, where evidence permits, to the state of Pluscarden and its inmates in the century preceding the Reformation.

Unlike the history of most monastic houses, secularisation does not end this narrative, for although it is possible, as the author does, to trace the successive lay owners of Pluscarden, the monks have now returned to the Vale of St. Andrew and are there engaged in an active communal life, one of the ultimate aims of which is the restoration of the Priory of Pluscarden to all its former glories.

The dangers of writing the history of a religious house, the charitulary of which has not survived, are twofold; either the author has to draw a comparative picture taken from the known history of similar houses, which leads to a great deal of supposition, or else he is forced to rely so heavily upon the scraps of material which are available, that insignificant points, which contribute little to the general picture, are frequently utilised.

While Mr Anson has written an extremely fair and well balanced account of the history of Pluscarden, he cannot be completely absolved on either of these points. The claim that the *Ordinale Conventus Vallus Caulium* provides 'a fairly clear picture of life at Pluscarden between 1230 and 1454' does not easily square with the evidence that there were not more than six monks at this house in 1453/4. In the later period likewise, the author, although aware of the dangers of

reconstruction based upon comparative sources, frequently makes assumptions upon this basis, even to the point of drawing from the records of non-Benedictine houses.

If however, the ideal does on occasions tend to be uppermost, this cannot be said of the portrayal of monastic life in the Reformation period, the evils which beset monasticism at this time being clearly recognised and analysed. The vigour with which this analysis is undertaken does, however, contrast sharply with the treatment accorded to the successive disputes between rival claimants to the Priory to which many unnecessary details and suppositions have been adjoined. This is likewise true of the post-Reformation period in which many of the references appear to be of small account while the evidence appears to be constantly strained to prove the existence of remnants of an older faith. Is it not possible that the promotion of education in eighteenth-century Scotland was an end in itself and not a 'means to root up any lingering traces of Papist superstitions', while folk memory can hardly be held to prove that the people of the Vale of Pluscarden 'clung to the beliefs of their ancestors'?

On matters of detail, Mr Anson is not so accurate as might be expected, while the background material is not always above suspicion. In a rather arbitrary list of religious houses, not only do minor inconsistencies appear, but Fyvie is classed with the Cistercian houses, while Dryburgh is omitted altogether. Similar slips occur in a short list of Collegiate Churches, the dating of which in all but three of the nine cases fails to agree with *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, to which the reader is referred. Personal opinions can be likewise startling. The Settlement of Moray can hardly be compared with the Highland Clearances, while in his likening of the sons of Saint Margaret to 'a pack of brigands', Mr Anson appears to be allowing his moral judgment to supersede his sense of history.

Such criticisms apart, however, the author has succeeded in his task remarkably well and there emerges from the volume, as a whole, a lasting impression of life in a Monastery in Moray whose roots are not only in the past but also in the future.

I. B. COWAN.

LE LIVRE DU RECTEUR DE L'ACADÉMIE DE GENÈVE (1559-1878).

Vol. 1: Le Texte. Edited by S. Stelling-Michaud. Pp. 504.
Geneva: Librairie R. Droz. 1959. 54 Swiss francs.

The *Livre du Recteur de l'Académie de Genève* is a commemorative volume published to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of that famous School under the inspiration of John Calvin. It is a scholarly, co-operative work (the first of three companion volumes), revising and augmenting an earlier work of a hundred years ago, and prefaced by an illuminating introduction. The

Register itself begins with the form of oath imposed upon scholars and the text of the constitution as ratified by the Syndics and Council of the City of Geneva on 29 March 1559. Teachers were to be appointed by these City Fathers on the nomination of the ministers of the Word of God. A curriculum was drawn up to provide a seven years' course of study with the object of training pastors and teachers according to the Calvinistic Confession of Faith. Matriculation involved subscribing the oath and carried with it the status of a *habitant* of the City of Geneva.

Here we see at once the significance of the foundation of the Academy of Geneva. It was devised as a weapon in the religious struggle of the Calvinists against the Counter-Reformation, and thus testifies to the break-down of the medieval conception of the University as a *Studium Generale* whose degrees carried the right of 'teaching everywhere.' Until 1798—the secular age of the French Revolution—no degrees were granted by Geneva. Originally a student received only a certificate signed by the Rector and his individual professors. Moreover, French, not Latin, was the language of instruction, and the Constitution was written in both tongues.

Under the ecclesiastical influence of John Calvin and the scholarship of Theodore Beza the Academy of Geneva instantly became a focus of evangelical learning with an attraction for Scottish scholars. The first page of the register bears the name (No. 15) of Peter Young, afterwards tutor to James VI; and in 1567 the Confession of Faith was copied and signed by Gilbert Moncrieff, later the King's physician, and in 1569 by John Skene, the famous lawyer. These, however, were by no means the only illustrious Scots at Geneva during the sixteenth century, and even the list in the Rector's Book is not exhaustive. It was soon found for example, that the exacting doctrinal nature of the oath prevented many students from matriculating. An illustration of this, as regards Scotland, may be found if one compares the list of names in the Rector's Book with the references to Geneva in the pages of James Melville's *Diary*.

Gradually modifications were made. In 1581 the civil power obtained representation on the academic body, and its influence was seen when, in 1584, matriculation was (in theory) made compulsory and a tax was levied upon foreigners, but at the same time an 'academic oath' on the German model was substituted for the Confession of Faith. This was the first step towards converting the Calvinist School into a *Studium Generale*.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a new kind of foreign student made his way to Geneva in the person of the young nobleman on his Grand Tour. These 'amateur' students might enrol themselves in the Rector's Book or in the 'matricule des étrangers' (*Nomina et Stemmata*, 1581-1704). Among Scots in this social category one finds the names of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, son and heir of

William, Marquis of Douglas, who spent 'three summer months at Geneva' in 1634; James and Robert Drummond, sons of John Earl of Perth, who inscribed in 1637; Robert Viscount Oxfuird, Lord Macgill and Cousland, 1667; Thomas Earl of Haddington, 13 February 1741; Charles Lennox Duke of Richmond, 15 September 1752; James Raymond Jonston, Scottish gentleman, student of law, with William Gardiner, Scot, his 'governor', in 1788.

Early in the nineteenth century a new category appears under the name of 'externes' (later 'assistants'). In one sense these students were in the succession of the former 'amateurs' who visited the lecture rooms for personal rather than for professional reasons. They had a greater freedom of choice in their curriculum than the ordinary undergraduate, but if they fulfilled the necessary conditions they also could become 'reguliers', sitting examinations and taking degrees. A list of 'externes', collected from scattered sources, has been appended to the Rector's Book, and includes among the Scottish names: Francis Davidson, studying belles-lettres, 1826; Robert Menzies, law, 1826; Alexander and Robert Stewart, philosophy, 1827; Lord Napier, London, science and law, 1836.

Perhaps, however, the most impressive illustration of the transformation of the sixteenth century School of Calvin into an Academy and then into a modern University is the introduction of students from across the Atlantic and from Eastern Europe, including twenty-three Russian women and one Siberian between 1871 and 1875. During the four centuries of its existence the 'Academy' of Geneva has never ceased to attract scholars from far and near. It has never been merely provincial and 'Le Livre du Recteur' will repay scrutiny from many points of view. A clear chronological table of the chief dates in the history of the Academy would have been helpful; but it has to be remembered that this is only the first of three companion volumes. Even without the aid of the promised biographical notes, the matriculation lists provide a quarry from which many researchers may hew nuggets of valuable knowledge.

ANNIE I. DUNLOP.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SCOTS AND ENGLISH LAND LAW. A HISTORICAL COMPARISON. By C. D'Olivier Farran. Pp. xxxi, 284. Edinburgh: Green. 1958. 60s.

'A regular institute of the common law of this island deducing historically the changes which that law has undergone in the two nations, would be a valuable present to the public. If men of knowledge and genius would undertake particular branches, a general system might in time be compiled from their works.' Dr Farran follows this apposite quotation from Lord Kames with the disarming explanation that since no men of knowledge and genius have taken

up the challenge, he has himself attempted to supply the deficiency in the field of land law. It is undeniable that a comprehensive and profound comparative history of English and Scots land law, similar in quality to the magisterial work of Pollock and Maitland, and based, as their history is, not only on the treatises, codes and statutes but also on a thorough exploitation of charters, customals and the records of royal and private courts, would be immensely worthwhile. But Dr Farran's book falls far short of any such undertaking. On the English side, the shortcomings are not so serious. The author frankly calls his treatment of English law 'derivative': no great matter, since for the earlier periods at least it is very properly derived from Pollock and Maitland and Holdsworth. They have guided him safely through historical processes and developments which were often lengthy and intricate. If, indeed, there is one notable fault to be found in this part of Dr Farran's work, it is that for the sake of compression he has summarised too drastically the arguments and conclusions of his authorities, often making a complicated story too simple. For his parallel attempt, however, to survey the development of Scots land law, Dr Farran lacks the necessary equipment of historical scholarship. He claims in this part of his study to have broken fresh ground, but in fact he has done little more than scratch parts of the surface. He draws (too uncritically) upon the *Regiam Majestatem*, and lays under heavy contribution Craig's *Jus Feudale*, the treatises of Hope, Stair and Erskine, Kames's *Historical Law Tracts*, and Walter Ross's *Lectures*. He is aware (p. xviii) that Craig, Stair and Erskine created rather than recorded Scots legal history, and were not much concerned with the law save as it stood, or as they conceived it should stand, in their own day. Admittedly, also, his book is about 'principles', upon which the theoretical writers ought to have something worthwhile to say. But Dr Farran claims to make an 'historical comparison'; and the historical development of principles needs to be illustrated, just as it may often be explained, by the practical operation of the law. It is true that the history of Scots land law has been less continuous and gradual than that of England, but, as Dr Farran constantly emphasises, the Scots law of landed property is intensely feudal, perhaps the most explicitly feudal land law to survive anywhere. And just as feudalism (*pace* Maitland) was not introduced into England by Spelman, so it was not introduced into Scotland by Craig. The seventeenth-century lawyers were trying to systematise a substantive law which had its roots in the twelfth century, in what Lord Cooper called the 'Scoto-Norman Law'.

Dr Farran divides his work into three books, dealing first with 'The Common Foundation', secondly with 'Trends of Divergence', and, finally and very briefly, with 'Very Limited Reconvergence'. By way of preface, he unwisely reprints, from the *Juridical Review*,

an article on 'Run-Rig and the Open Field System', in which he vindicates to his own satisfaction the hypothesis of 'community landholding' in early England and Scotland, declaring that in view of the evidence he puts forward 'Maitland's contrary view can no longer be accepted'. Maitland's views are in less danger of demolition than Dr Farran supposes, and few students of early agrarian organisation will share his confidence that evidence from West Meath in the eighteenth, and from the Outer Isles, Lauder and Northumberland in the nineteenth century, proves that an annual re-allotment of the arable was general throughout England and Scotland in the early historical period.

Book I is largely taken up with tenures, and is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the work. For Scotland, any reader seeking information would be well advised to consult Dr Isabel Milne's contribution to the Stair Society's recent *Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (chap. XIII). Dr Farran's account is marred by inaccurate and misleading statements—e.g. 'the medieval history of Scotland is one of unending feuds' (p. 35); the office of Justice-General was in the family of the Duke [*sic*] of Argyll 'from the reign of James I of Scots to that of Charles I' (p. 72). On p. 37 we are told, 'In Scotland, precise obligations in terms of knight's fees seem to have been rare, the military service due being left undefined.' Charter evidence from the twelfth to the fourteenth century makes nonsense of this statement, and Dr Farran, though he recognises an exception to it in a charter he prints on p. 258, does not realise that this makes an *addition* to the fairly long yet not exhaustive list of knight-service infeftments given in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxix, pp. 28-30. Again, on p. 55 he says, 'Grants [of feus] in return for a money payment are rare before the fourteenth century, although by no means unknown.' If Dr Farran had spent a few hours scanning the printed cartularies he would have found abundant examples of pre-fourteenth-century feu fermes—e.g., the series of feus created by the twelfth-century abbots of Kelso, given in the *Liber de Calchou*, Nos. 102-117.

Dr Farran seems happier in Book II. He gives an interesting account of the development of the English 'doctrine of estates', and advances some explanation of why this never took root in Scotland. He rightly emphasises the land legislation of Edward I as a turning-point in the history of English land law, and shows how important was the absence of any real Scottish equivalent. An especially telling illustration is provided by the history of entailed estates in the two countries, where Scots inclinations tended to favour the dynastic basis of landholding, while in England there was constant pressure to secure freer alienability. The last part of Book II deals with conveyancing. Here especially one could wish for a clearer exposition. Dr Farran seems so anxious to save his readers from

falling into 'the trap of supposing sasine to be equivalent to seisin' (p. xix), that he fails to bring out the historical processes which converted an originally single concept into two concepts, English and Scots, which, though they had marked similarities, had developed still more important differences. Dr Farran's argument is nowhere helped by his style, which in these later chapters threatens to let him down completely. The following sentence, on p. 217, will serve as an example: 'Again, one may wonder why, when the conveyancing reforms of 1874, which were most satisfactory as far as they went, came in, the whole hog was not gone and a systematic scheme of registered title developed.' It is a pity that so much labour has gone into a work whose chief effect is to emphasise the need for an adequate historical comparison of the land law of England and Scotland.

G. W. S. BARROW.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY, 1307-1399. By May McKisack. Pp. xix, 598. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. 35s.

Professor McKisack's book will not disappoint the readers who have waited so many years for this fourteenth-century volume, through the delays and accidents which are well known to have dogged its progress since it was first committed to 'the incomparable tutor' of the preface, the late Maude Clarke. In the things that matter most it is an excellent book, and perhaps above all because the author has understood and maintained so well the essential purpose of the series: to write a history helpful to the undergraduate and acceptable to the general reader as well as one which will assist the advanced worker in the period to maintain his sense of proportion. It is full of good sense, and often aptly reminds us of matters whose importance used to be well understood but which have more recently become lost behind clouds of technical scholarship (see for example the sympathetic estimate of Edward III on p. 150). Our remarks here must be concerned mainly with Scotland, but we ought to say of the book in general that it deals most successfully with the heavy task of sifting the great mass of research which has appeared since the narratives of Tout (1905) and Ramsay (1913). The narrative is very readable, the analysis shrewd and personal. One realises that space is very short, but it might perhaps have been possible to spare a little from the various constitutional crises of the century and give it to architecture, which comes off so poorly that Henry Yevele seems not to be mentioned and the perpendicular style only just appears and no more.

It is never very easy to know how to criticise the allusions to Scotland in such a work as this. It sets out, after all, to be only a History of England; the author has, in all conscience, enough to do to keep up to date in English history, without becoming involved in an

alien field where bibliographical guidance is so scanty and the opportunity for discussion with experts probably so rare. Miss McKisack has done very well by Scotland in the first thirty years of her book, where Scottish affairs are so important for England¹; and she has shown herself there to be very well informed about the recent contents of this *Review*. For the rest of the century there is little recent published research which she could have used. In her whole story concerning Scotland there are a few matters which might be amended in a future edition. Harclay was executed at Carlisle, not at London (p. 75); Bruce was not simply 'suspected of complicity' in the murder of Comyn² (p. xviii); Percy, not Umfraville, was joined with Wake and Beaumont in Bruce's undertaking to restore certain lands to the 'disinherited' in 1328 (p. 115). The *Ragman Rolls* contain the names of hundreds of insignificant Scotsmen whom it is misleading to call *barons* (p. 99). The difficulties connected with the supposed declaration of the clergy in favour of Bruce in 1310 are not mentioned, but they demand a footnote reference to Hunter Marshall's article, *ante*, xxiii, 280 ff.; and one is surprised to find the treaty of 1371 referred to as 'the formal *inauguration* of the Franco-Scottish alliance' (p. 142).³

The bibliography given for Scotland in these *Histories* has often been criticised without due regard for the difficulty of deciding what to include. But one feels that it might be better to mention only bibliographical and reference works such as Terry's *Catalogue* (and its continuation) and the Historical Association Bibliography of 1937, rather than to give a brief list of sources which may be more misleading than helpful. In the present case there are a few errors which need correction. Vol. i of the Great Seal Register ends at 1424, not 1324. The relevant volumes of the *Exchequer Rolls* were published in 1878-80, not 1878, and they supersede the *Accounts of the Great Chamberlains*, which are given as if they were a different text. Volumes ii to iv of the *Calendar of Papal Letters* are all relevant, and the first, which is the only one mentioned, not at all. No distinction is made between Fordun and Bower. Only one volume of the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* relates to the period, not two, and it was published in 1844, not 1814. These are small points, and it is an

¹ I cannot observe that she has missed anything of importance, except perhaps the strange statement of Despenser in October 1324 that Robert Bruce might be going to Gascony in the company of Edward II 'with a great army, if all went well' (*War of Saint Sardos*, ed. Chaplais [Camden Society], 76).

² One can see the point of this expression, since the first news of the murder to reach Edward seems not to have named Bruce (Bain, ii, No. 1747), but a reader might be led to believe that Bruce's part in the affair is seriously in doubt.

³ Two small points of English history may be added here: (a) for *John* read *Richard Willoughby* (p. 205); (b) Gurney, one of the murderers of Edward II, is said to have *died* abroad (p. 94), but is it not possible that he was executed (Galbraith, *Studies in the Public Records*, p. 18)?

ungrateful task to mention them in considering a work of so much learning and distinction, whose main field falls outside the scope of this *Review*. One cannot conclude without a word of appreciation of the excellent and unostentatious style which makes the reading of the book an unusual pleasure. How refreshing it is to find a scholarly work which escapes from 'tensions', 'impacts', 'patterns', 'motivations', 'contexts' and the rest! The gain in force and directness is worth every ounce of the effort which it must have taken to avoid the ugly jargon from which we suffer so much in these days.

E. L. G. STONES.

LORD BURGHLEY AND QUEEN ELIZABETH. By the late Conyers Read. Pp. 603. London: Jonathan Cape. 1960. 55s.

This second and concluding volume of the late Professor Read's life of William Cecil, Lord Burghley,¹ takes up the story of the great Elizabethan from 1570, when Burghley, as Lord Treasurer, emerged as the shrewdest and most influential of Elizabeth's counsellors. The book traces in detail the tortuous ramifications of England's relations with France, Spain, the Low Countries, and Scotland; it covers the story of Mary Stewart's long imprisonment and the plots that led to her execution; it discusses the problems of the succession, the religious quarrels of the reign, and Elizabeth's economic policies; it embraces such events as the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve and the failure of the Spanish Armada.

As the title indicates, the main emphasis of the book lies in the relationship between Burghley and Elizabeth. Alone of her Council, Burghley was realist enough to learn that the Queen's prejudices must be studied, and he generally framed his memoranda in terms most likely to carry weight with her. Their aims were frequently at variance. Burghley's religious bias and his concern for the succession led him to advocate policies which the Queen's emotional hatred of rebellion and religious extremism, along with her distaste for spending money and her reluctance to take positive action, frequently frustrated. It becomes clear from this book that more than once Elizabeth stood alone against a formidable combination of Privy Council and Parliament on such points as the execution of Mary, active intervention in foreign conflicts, and the early recognition of James's government. But Burghley always proceeded on the assumption that Elizabeth could not be coerced; and as time proved that her 'mere English' attitude often turned out for the best, he seems gradually to have become, quite sincerely, her chief spokesman in the Council and, through his propaganda, in England and abroad.

Scotland occurs frequently in these pages. Though control of

¹ The first volume is *Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth*. Jonathan Cape, 1955.

Anglo-Scottish relations largely passed to Walsingham after 1573, Burghley continued to be the acknowledged expert on Scotland. When relations with James became important in England's clash with Spain, Burghley again became actively involved in Scottish affairs, and even when he slipped into the role of elder statesman he kept a keen eye on the 'postern gate'. Unfortunately not much has survived of Burghley's end in the correspondence he conducted on Scottish affairs, and consequently Professor Read has been unable to write with certainty about Burghley's attitudes. Nevertheless he devotes a fair proportion of the book to Anglo-Scottish relations; and although his preoccupation with Burghley's career at Elizabeth's court forces him to write somewhat superficially about domestic affairs in Scotland, this book, if taken together with his earlier work on Walsingham,¹ offers a valuable account of Anglo-Scottish diplomacy in the period.

Professor Read has brilliantly organised an enormous mass of letters, memoranda and other materials in his life of Burghley, and it should be welcomed both because it is magnificently successful as a biography, and because it is a perceptive and impartial study of the major part of Elizabeth's reign. It is the last work of a distinguished American scholar who has contributed greatly to our knowledge of the sixteenth century.

W. A. GATHERER.

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COMMONWEALTHMAN. Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies. By Caroline Robbins. Pp. viii, 462. Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1959. 80s.

There is an eighteenth-century echo in the mere title of this volume. Professor Robbins has unearthed and assimilated an extensive range of sources bearing on the survival into the late eighteenth-century of the ideas adumbrated by the radicals during the Commonwealth period. Her work is clearly directed to the professional historians of ideas and above all to the students of political and economic thought. She certainly shows that, in spite of eighteenth-century complacency, many writers were critical of what it is now fashionable to call the establishment, but is less successful in proving that they counted for much and in establishing the existence of a continuous tradition. 'Real Whiggery' had little popular appeal and its exponents' attacks failed to make any impression on the establishment. Indeed Miss Robbins herself states explicitly that the real Whigs 'were not in any sense of the word an organised opposi-

¹ *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*. 3 vols. Oxford. 1925.

tion' (p. 381) and had no generally agreed programme of their own. While they believed in progress, and emphasised the popular element, they were never revolutionaries. Believing in mixed government and the balance of the constitution, they opposed the development of Cabinet and party government (p. 383) which was to make possible nineteenth-century democracy. In deciding whether a particular author was or was not 'a real Whig' Miss Robbins is too inclined to use as her criterion—did he contribute 'to keep alive political ideas which proved suitable and useful' to the Founding Fathers of the United States? Since Miss Robbins believes that 'the most fertile ideas in politics and in economics are to be found in eighteenth-century Ireland and Scotland' (p. 380) one turns with keen anticipation to the chapter on 'The Interest of Scotland'. Unlike the chapters on England and Ireland, this assessment of the Scottish intellectual renaissance, while competent enough, is almost devoid of novelty, unless I am right in interpreting two cryptic references to Hume as suggesting a belief that he was educated at the University of Glasgow. Apparently because 'his writing strengthened Tory sentiments about English history for a long time to come' (p. 218) Hume indeed is only mentioned in the passing, while too much space is devoted to second-rate authors whose influence was slight.

D. B. HORN.

YORK METROPOLITAN JURISDICTION AND PAPAL JUDGES DELEGATE (1279-1296). By Robert Brentano. Pp. xvi, 293. University of California Press. 1959. \$6.

The subject matter of Mr Brentano's book may seem remote from the history of Scotland. But, for centuries before metropolitan jurisdiction began its brief course within the Scottish Church, some Scottish sees were subject to metropolitans outwith Scotland. One of those sees was Whithorn, and Mr Brentano devotes a chapter to it, incorporating the substance of an article on 'The Whithorn vacancy of 1293-4' which he contributed to the *Innes Review*, vol. vi. It is interesting, too, to reflect on Mr Brentano's suggestion that the example of Scottish bishops in successfully rejecting the authority of York did something to strengthen resistance to the archbishop within his own province. It certainly emerges that the prior and convent of Durham (the story of whose challenge to the archbishop forms the core of the book) regarded the Scots as allies and expected Scottish ecclesiastics to view their claims with sympathy. Consequently, from the point of view of the Archbishop of York, 'proximity to Scotland was always a curse', but the connection with Scotland had the happy result for historians that documents drawn up in the course of Durham's struggle contain several references to Scottish churchmen who acted as delegates or subdelegates. In Appendix X there is a

subdelegation by the bishop of Dunkeld in 1285, and Appendix XV is a *probacio sigilli* of the sacristan of Kelso in 1284. Apart from such specifically Scottish interest as the book contains, any ecclesiastical historian can read with profit at least Chapter I, on 'The office of metropolitan', and Chapter IV, on 'The mechanics of administering the province'.

G.D.

QUEEN'S, BELFAST, 1845-1949, THE HISTORY OF A UNIVERSITY.
By T. W. Moody and J. C. Beckett, 2 vols. Pp. [82], 983.
London: Faber and Faber. 1959. 63s.

Over a thousand pages for only three guineas is rare value for these days. And the library's shelves do not seem to carry a university history so long, so heavy to hold, so meticulous in documentation. But these pages were not written for library shelves; they are an honest history of a living body by two men of outstanding historical qualities—carefulness, discrimination, imagination, literacy, and fearlessness. To summarise the result of their work would be to put a Cunarder in a beer bottle; the only possible criticism would be that the Cunarder is not a stratocruiser. Let anyone interested in universities read this book and see how one university lived through a turbulent Irish century and yet flourished in a society split by a religious-social schism. Let him read, and if he is a layman he will marvel at the irrationality, the madness, of a university and all its doings.

The gentle façade in English perpendicular of the first building (1848) covered the presidential and vice-presidential houses which together took up a quarter of the space. Teaching rooms took up the remaining three quarters; the accommodation for the staff was extremely meagre. 'For the students it amounted precisely to a cloakroom, four water closets and a row of urinals.' In 1927 a proposal to initiate an honours degree in scholastic philosophy ran into heavy opposition—'the whole matter was not one on which people were open to persuasion': this of a university! But if the reader is well acquainted with universities he will marvel rather at the honesty of it all. Those men who were 'not open to persuasion' were religious bigots with avowed prejudices who fought their battle in the open. Their reasons were not petty personal jealousies, empire-building, but simple hatred of the Pope of Rome and all his works. Here is a college which was planted willy-nilly by a British government in a mean but prosperous Irish town. It is now the only university of a self-governing province. And so the charming but utterly inadequate Lanyon building of 1848 with its brick imitation Magdalen tower and its miscellaneous and awkward nineteenth century accretions lies down the road from the monstrous fabric for scientists of a century later, the symbol of all

that is rich and powerful and ugly and alive in the Ulster society which is now so proud of Queen's. Where is a like society that is proud of Edinburgh or Glasgow or Aberdeen or St. Andrews?

The men who teach at Queen's are mostly not of Irish extraction. Often they hanker to return to Britain and sometimes they dislike or fear the Ulster statelet in which they live, so that they do not differ greatly in outlook from Englishmen 'stuck' in a Scottish university. The difference between Queen's and the Scottish universities remains and clearly it is not a consequence of the alien origin or sympathies of professors and lecturers.¹ It is not a consequence of size, or compactness, or the make-up of the student body for in all these the Scottish universities differ widely from one another. It is a difference which must lie in the community at large, its attitude to and relationship with its university or universities. Though time and again the views and attitudes of various lay bodies are explained by our authors, when the nineteenth century is ended they cease to talk of the place of the university in the community. There is a lesson for us somewhere in this book, the lesson of how to be a university; it is the only failing of the authors that they cease to teach it when it becomes most interesting.

A. A. M. DUNCAN.

Under the title, *The Vatican Archives*, Dr Leslie Macfarlane has reprinted in pamphlet form his two articles on the Vatican Archives, with special reference to sources for British medieval history, which originally appeared in *Archives*, the Journal of The British Records Association (vol. iv. 1959). In so doing he has laid all students of British medieval history in his debt. He has amassed an immense amount of material and arranged it carefully and clearly, with a useful commentary. The Vatican archives are the repository of the ecclesiastical records of the Papacy as a vast international organisation. Dr Macfarlane gives a succinct history of the peregrinations and vicissitudes of these collections before they were made available to scholars by Pope Leo XIII in 1881. He then lists the contents of the archives under twelve headings; subdivides each of these categories; and tabulates the contents with short descriptive notes and a bibliography of the relevant publications. His own researches have familiarised him with many of the sources, and for the fields in which he has not worked personally he has had the advantage of expert guidance. His inventory is therefore based upon first-hand knowledge. Those who have themselves felt lost in the maze of the old catalogues can best appreciate the value of Dr Macfarlane's compila-

¹ It may be noted that the commonly accepted view of Queen's as closely related to the Scottish universities in constitution and other features is expressly disavowed at several points in this book.

tion. Every student going to the Vatican archives will find it indispensable both for its general information and for its practical suggestions. It may easily save weary hours of frustration; and it is equally useful for scholars who wish to inform themselves of the history and scope of the various departments of the archives. All will find it concise, clear and up to date.

A.I.D.

We have received the second edition of J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth* (Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. Pp. xxviii, 539. 1959. 35s.). This is certainly both an enlarged and a revised edition. It contains about a hundred pages more than its predecessor; the work of Sir John Neale has enabled the accounts of Elizabeth's parliaments to be revised and expanded; the latter part of the reign is dealt with in greater detail; and, in particular, there is much fuller treatment of Anglo-Scottish relations.

In this last aspect, however, we must confess to bitter disappointment. In his Preface to this second edition Dr Black tells us that he now dismisses the Casket Letters as 'thoroughly untrustworthy evidence, which no court of law today, provided it were free from political interference, would seriously consider, much less give credit to', and that the time has come 'boldly to eliminate the "Buchanan myth" and the "legend of the good lord James"', which between them have bedevilled our text-books and distorted the truth beyond recognition'. Daring words which raise countless expectations. But when we turn to the text itself the analysis of events takes no account of these standpoints so boldly proclaimed. The description of Mary's 'trial' belies the promise held out by the author's Andrew Lang Lecture of 1949, and the part played by Mary's half-brother during the period 1561-7 is subjected to no devastating examination. In vain we look for criticism of George Buchanan's works. It may be that Dr Black was too aware that his history was one of England under Elizabeth, and not one of Scotland under Mary and James; but why does he raise our high expectations and then leave them unfulfilled? This apart, however, the sections dealing with Elizabeth's policy towards Scotland are good. They show her ever ready to 'drumle' the commonweal, and leave us under no illusions.

We have noted a few errors and doubtful statements in the accounts of Scottish affairs. We are told, "'Down with the nests", cried Knox, "and the rooks will fly away"' (p. 40)—a cry frequently attributed to the Scottish reformer, but one for which we have failed to find authority. Also, on this same page, the reduction of St. Andrews to 'a ruined and depopulated city' is surely little short of fantasy. In the analysis of the Treaty of Berwick (p. 44), for 'one month' read 'one year'. The running headline on p. 361 should read

'The Raid of Ruthven' and not 'The Gowrie Conspiracy'. And on p. 499 there is a sad confusion between C. S. Terry's *Index to the . . . Historical MSS. Commission's Reports* and his *Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical Clubs*.

The *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 1957-8 (Third Series, vol. xxxvi), contain, *inter alia*, an article by Dr R. C. Reid on 'The Priory of St. Mary's Isle', supported by a list of priors and an appendix of charters (of which the first two should have been printed in full in the original Latin); an interesting series of extracts by W. A. J. Prevost from the proceedings of the Commissioners of Supply for Dumfriesshire, 1692-1711 (though the introductory notes on the development of taxation in Scotland leave much to be desired); brief, but valuable, biographies of 'Some Local Heretics'—or 'Reformers'—by Mr John Durkan; a detailed catalogue of all the memorial stones in the churchyard of Tynron by the Rev. J. M. McWilliam; and an analysis (based on Privy Council records) of the story of the rescue of a small group of Covenanters prisoners from their military escort in the Enterkin Pass in 1684.

Medieval Archaeology (London: Society for Medieval Archaeology; annual subscription £2 2s.). We extend a warm welcome to the New Society and its new journal. The scope of the first number is exceedingly wide, ranging from dating by timber growth to late-medieval priests' houses.

The volume is interesting in many other ways: in the information and discussion it conveys to subscribers and readers who should be numerous; in the awareness shown by the Society that England is part of Europe, and that Scotland is part of England; in the still-distant relationship between historian and archaeologist which it reveals. For the Scot there is the heartening aim of the Society to study the 'unwritten evidences of British history since the Roman period', but, in an unsigned preface these words are explained: 'The Society's prime purpose is to encourage the study of the archaeology of the period of the growth of the English nation.' There are several excavation reports on pre- and post-Conquest Scottish sites, and one of these yields a slight fault, a mere slip of the pen, which illustrates as well as anything the difficulties of archaeologist and historian moving into each others' discipline—'Cosmo Innes . . . states that a McNaughton was licensed by Alexander II, in 1297, to build a castle.' Cosmo Innes makes no such error.

Yet, looking again at this first number, we note that the historians write on material things in a way which presupposes a reader familiar with the historian's approach to evidence, familiar even with his system of abbreviations; while the archaeologist likewise, writes

for his brethren. With two exceptions the articles are written for one school, without any real awareness of the other. There is no common discipline, just a millennium which is now far enough away to be respectable for archaeologists, near enough to be practicable for historians.

There are two exceptions to these strictures—the article by Miss Cramp on the poem *Beowulf* and relevant archaeological evidence, and a paper by Mr Raleigh Radford entitled 'The Saxon house: a review and some parallels'. There is always a place for kite-flying and it is sometimes useful that kite-flying should be claimed as a display of overwhelming air-power. The following comments on 'The Saxon house' are not intended to criticise either of these aspects of the article; comments of a like kind though different in substance could be made of most historical articles. Mr Radford suggests that the Anglo-Saxon peasants' houses found at Sutton Courteney and elsewhere were used for weaving, cooking, baking or housing the poorest peasant, the cottar, but that for the house of the ceorl, the Saxon freeman, the peasant farmer with his hide of some 120 acres of arable land we should look elsewhere. A historian, Miss Whitelock, had already suggested that these sites were hardly legitimate evidence for the standard of living of the average ceorl. True nothing else has been found in England to house this grand fellow, this 'basic class of the laws', but an archaeologist may follow an historian in rejecting unsatisfactory archaeological evidence, unsatisfactory because excavated in adverse circumstances and because so much at variance with the established, the establishment's, interpretation of the law-codes. In Old Saxony are found 'great rectangular houses' and it is for these (according to Mr Radford) that we must look in future in Anglo-Saxon England if we are to find our churlish homes. Now the historian may wonder whether this peasant farmer with 120 acres of arable ever existed except as a class in the laws, but he must admit that the standard text-books take him as a fact; that is a question which historians must settle with archaeologists for both Sutton Courteney and Mr Radford's argument would seem to be relevant to it. But the historian may also ask where he is to look for the dwellings of gesiths and thegns and what shape and size they will be. And so the archaeologist will take his classification of the houses and their occupants from the works of historians who use literary and documentary evidence and the historian will take his assessment of the living-standards of Anglo-Saxon men from the reports of archaeologists. In this game the ball should always travel from the archaeologist to the historian's court, and the historian should un-failingly return it. Medieval archaeology is a game where both sides should get a roughly equal share of the play, but it should be play between the two halves of the court and not within each.

A. A. M. DUNCAN.

A List of Articles on Scottish History published during the year 1959

A small group of scholars, with Mr T. I. Rae of the National Library of Scotland acting as their secretary, proposes to prepare each year for *The Scottish Historical Review*, and for publication in the October number, a list of articles on Scottish history published in periodicals during the preceding year. Some 150 periodicals published at home and abroad will be regularly examined for the purposes of this list, which, it is hoped, will be of interest and value to the readers of the *Review*.

The first list, covering articles published during the year 1959, appears below. In October 1961 a list of articles published during the year 1960 will appear, and similarly thereafter year by year.

I. Dark Ages to 1100

- MACQUEEN, J., 'A reply to Professor Jackson'. *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi, pp. 175-84. (On St. Kentigern.)
- MELDRUM, E., 'The Garioch Hill-Forts'. *Deeside Field*, 2nd series, iii, pp. 39-47.
- RICHMOND, I. A., 'The Roman Frontier Land'. *History*, xlv, pp. 1-15.
- STEINNES, A., 'The "Huseby" system in Orkney'. *Scottish Historical Review*, xxxviii, pp. 36-46.

II. Middle Ages: 1100-1560

- BARROW, G. W. S., 'Treverlen, Duddingston and Arthur's Seat'. *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxx, pp. 1-9.
- CAMERON, J. K., 'The Uproar of Religion'. *Alumnus Chronicle (University of St. Andrews)*, no. 50, pp. 20-23. (Concerns Reformation events in St. Andrews, 1559.)
- CARTER, C., 'The *Arma Christi* in Scotland'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xc, pp. 116-29.
- CHRISTISON, General Sir P., 'Bannockburn, 23 and 24 June 1314; a study in military history'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xc, pp. 170-9.
- DONALDSON, G., 'The Parish Clergy and the Scottish Reformation'. *Innes Review*, x, pp. 5-20. (Analysis of some of the clergy immediately prior to the Reformation.)
- DOUGLAS SIMPSON, W., 'On the Early Topography of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen'. *Deeside Field*, 2nd series, iii, pp. 6-8.
- DUNCAN, A. A. M., 'An interim list of the heads of some Scottish monastic houses before c. 1300: edited from the papers of the late D. W. Hunter Marshall'. *Bibliothek*, ii, pp. 4-27.

- 'Documents relating to the priory of the Isle of May'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xc, pp. 52-80.
- DUNCAN, A. A. M., and BROWN, A. L., 'Argyll and the Isles in the earlier Middle Ages'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xc, pp. 192-220.
- DURKAN, J., 'Some local Heretics'. *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi, pp. 67-77.
- 'Education in the century of the Reformation'. *Innes Review*, x, pp. 67-90.
- GREEVES, R., 'The Galloway lords in Ulster.' *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi, pp. 115-21. (Norman-Scots in Ulster, 1177-1256.)
- HADDON, A., 'The Border Laws'. *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society*, 1958, pp. 14-19.
- LEGGE, M. D., 'La Piere d'Escoce'. *Scottish Historical Review*, xxxviii, pp. 109-13. (An early fourteenth-century French poem about the Stone of Destiny.)
- McROBERTS, D., 'Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation'. *Innes Review*, x, pp. 126-72.
- MAHONEY, M., 'The Scottish Hierarchy, 1513-1565'. *Innes Review*, x, pp. 21-66.
- NICHOLSON, R., 'The Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian Treaties of 1295'. *Scottish Historical Review*, xxxviii, pp. 114-32.
- RAE, T. I., 'Some aspects of Border administration in the sixteenth century'. *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society*, 1958, pp. 5-13.
- REID, R. C., 'The priory of St. Mary's Isle'. *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi, pp. 9-26. (Contains lists of priors, etc.)
- REID, W. S., 'The Scots and the Staple Ordinance of 1313'. *Speculum*, xxxiv, pp. 598-610.
- STONES, E. L. G., 'Allusion to the Black Rood of Scotland in 1346'. *Scottish Historical Review*, xxxviii, pp. 174-5.
- TAYLOR, M., 'The conflicting doctrines of the Scottish Reformation'. *Innes Review*, x, pp. 97-125.
- THORGRIMSSON, T., 'Plenum parliamentum'. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxii, pp. 69-82. (Includes a brief discussion of the use of this term in Scotland.)

III. 1560-1717

- ANDERSON, W. J., 'Rome and Scotland, 1513-1625'. *Innes Review*, x, pp. 173-93.
- BUTCHART, C. B. R., 'The Cromwell Tower, 1658-1958'. *Aberdeen University Review*, xxxviii, pp. 143-7. (Concerns building and development of part of King's College, Aberdeen.)

- CAMERON, J. K., 'James Cargill, c. 1565-1616'. *Aberdeen University Review*, xxxviii, pp. 148-51.
- CAMPBELL, W. M., 'Robert Boyd of Trochrigg'. *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xii, pp. 220-34.
- CHEYNE, A. C., 'Inter-Church relations: a retrospect'. *Scottish Journal of Theology*, xii, pp. 257-76. (Relations of Episcopalians and Presbyterians in Britain, 1690-1714.)
- CLAIR, C., 'Christopher Plantin's trade connexions with England and Scotland'. *Library*, xiv, pp. 28-45. (Discusses the book trade between Antwerp, London and Edinburgh, c. 1580.)
- DUNLOP, A. IAN, 'The polity of the Scottish Church, 1600-1637'. *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xii, pp. 161-84.
- FORD, D., 'Enterkin and the Covenanters'. *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi, pp. 132-48.
- HICKS, L., 'The Embassy of Sir Anthony Standen in 1603'. *Recusant History*, v, pp. 91-127. (Discusses *inter alia* Standen's relations with Mary Queen of Scots, and Scottish affairs to 1599.)
- JOHNSTON, Major S. H. F., 'Letters of Samuel Noyes, Chaplain of the Royal Scots, 1703-4'. *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, xxxvii, pp. 33-40, 67-71, 128-35.
- LAMONT, W. M., 'Episcopacy and a Godly Discipline, 1614-46'. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, x, pp. 74-89. (Compares Scottish Presbyterianism with English Erastianism.)
- MCNEILL, P. G. B., 'Office of Master of Requests'. *Juridical Review*, new series, iv, pp. 210-13. (Includes a list of the holders of the office, 1514-1649.)
- 'Not Proven Verdicts'. *Scots Law Review*, 1959, p. 77.
- 'Citation of Scots Statutes'. *Scots Law Times (News)*, 1959, p. 112.
- 'The Scottish Privy Council'. *Scots Law Times (News)*, 1959, p. 227.
- MCNEILL, W. A., 'Act of the head court: Elgin-Forres election—12 October 1612'. *Scottish Historical Review*, xxxviii, pp. 87-88.
- M[], H., 'Not Proven Verdicts'. *Scots Law Review*, 1959, p. 21.
- MATHESON, A., 'Documents connected with the trial of Sir James MacDonald of Islay'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow*, v, pp. 207-22.
- MURRAY, A. L., 'Auld Lag and the Covenanters'. *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi, pp. 149-74. (Letters, etc., of Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, 1682-8.)
- NICOLSON, A., 'The MacBeths—Hereditary Physicians of the Highlands'. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow*, v, pp. 94-112.
- PETTI, A. G., 'The letters and despatches of Richard Verstegan, c. 1550-1640'. *Catholic Record Society*, lii, pp. 1-269. (Shows

- the state of English and Scots Catholics, the Scots nobility and ecclesiastics, etc.)
- 'Richard Verstegan and Catholic martyrologies of the later Elizabethan period'. *Recusant History*, v, pp. 64-90. (Includes material on Mary Queen of Scots.)
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Notes and Comments

ACCESSIONS TO THE REGISTER HOUSE, 1959

*Collections marked * have been inventoried*

PUBLIC RECORDS

In May 1959 the General Assembly decided to transmit to the Scottish Record Office on indefinite loan the older records of the Church of Scotland and other records then in the Tolbooth Library. The transfer has been effected; and a detailed repertory is being prepared of this outstanding accession, which includes records of Assembly and also a large number of Synod, Presbytery, and Kirk Session records of the Church of Scotland and of the United Free Church and its predecessors.

Other special transmissions of public records were an Act Book of the Commissary Court of Dunblane, 1631-7, and record volumes and minute books of the Burgh Register of Sasines for Sanquhar, 1718-1959 (29 vols.), on its discontinuance in terms of the Burgh Registers (Scotland) Act, 1926.

PRIVATE MUNIMENTS

These were comparatively few and small in bulk. Several were minor additions to collections previously deposited outright or on loan: S.S.P.C.K. papers, 1790-1837*; Abercairny, 1620-20th century; Earl of Airlie, 18th-20th centuries; Broughton and Cally, 18th-19th centuries; Earl of Eglinton and Winton—book of farm plans (Ayrshire, Renfrewshire), surveyed and drawn by John Ainslie, Edinburgh, 1789; Marquess of Lothian, 19th-20th centuries; Earl of Mar and Kellie, 1617-20th century—including duplicate volumes of treasury, comptrollery and taxation accounts, 1617-29; Lord Polwarth, 17th-19th centuries; and Countess of Seafield—plans, mainly for Cullen House, by Messrs, Smith and McGill, James and Robert Adam, and James Playfair, 1709-89*.

New deposits included Bruce of Arnot papers (Berwickshire, Kinross-shire), 16th-19th centuries; Closeburn writs (Dumfriesshire), 1503-1921*; Cockburn family papers (Berwickshire, West Lothian), 1522-1900; Gilchrist of Ospisdale collection (Ross-shire, Sutherland), 18th-19th centuries; Jackton papers (Lanarkshire), 1562-1893*; Johnston of Caskieben papers (Aberdeenshire), 16th-19th centuries; Paterson of Denmuir muniments (Fife), 1400-1775*;

Shaw-Stewart of Greenock papers (Ayrshire, Renfrewshire), 1442-1878; Dunstaffnage writs (Argyllshire), 1613-1855; Stewart Fergusson of Dunfallandy papers (Perthshire), 17th-19th centuries; and farm account book of William Mackintosh of Balnespick (Invernessshire), 1769-80. The last three are deposits on indefinite loan.

INVENTORIES AND INDEXES

Inventories of the following family collections were completed last year: Campbell of Balliveolan papers, 1628-1829; Clerk of Penicuik muniments, 1373-20th century (6,181 items); Crawford Priory collection, 1210-1878; and Rose of Montcoffer (Kinharrachie) papers, 1559-1868. It is hoped that inventories of the Earl of Airlie, Broughton and Cally, Dundas of Ochertyre, and other collections will be typed in the course of 1960.

The following were among the indexes being prepared in 1959: Justiciary records, 1721-55; register of deeds in Midlothian Sheriff Court, 1809-1900; and burgh registers of sasines for Fortrose, 1819-1922, and Kinghorn, 1810-1907. Progress was also made with the compilation of repertories of Church of Scotland, Exchequer, and local court records.

JAMES FERGUSSON.

SURDIT DE SERGAUNT. In his recent volume of *Wigtownshire Charters*¹ Dr R. C. Reid has noted the petition of the 'community' of Galloway to Edward I complaining that they were oppressed by a strange and wrongful law called *surdit de sergaunt*, which had not been used since the time of King Alexander² and for a year before his death, but which the barons and great lords were now using to the grievance of the land.³ Yet although he has consulted Mr R. Stewart-Brown's work on *The Serjeants of the Peace in Medieval England and Wales*,⁴ and has made himself acquainted with the work of the serjeants in the pursuit, attachment and indictment of criminals, Dr Reid has strangely failed to recognise the word *surdit*. 'The law called "surdit de sergeant"', he writes, 'presents a formidable problem'; and to that problem he then offers some extraordinary solutions.⁵

But is the problem so formidable? The petition is in French; and *surdit* is simply old French for an 'accusation.' Godefroy gives the form *sourdit*, with a verb, *sourdire* (though his references are all

¹ Scottish History Society. 1960.

² Dr Reid says 'King Alexander II', but the petition says, simply, 'King Alexander'. From the usual wording of documents of this period, we would expect the reference to be to Alexander III.

³ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i, 472 b. Summary in Bain's *Calendar*, ii, No. 1874.

⁴ Manchester University Press. 1936.

⁵ *Wigtownshire Charters*, ut cit., xxxvi, and n. 3.

literary); and Grandsaignes d'Hauterive gives *sordit, sordire*. The Latin form, *superdictum, superdicere* (which is noted by Du Cange, Maigne d'Arnis, and the *Medieval Latin Word-List*), has been transcribed by Lord Haddington as *supradictum* in two charters, relating to Galloway and to lands in Galloway, granted by Robert I¹—and, surprisingly, when citing these charters, Dr Reid uses the correct form, *superdictum*.² *Surdit de sergaunt*, or the *superdictum serjantium* (or *serjandorum*) of the charters, was, we believe, nothing other than the independent right of attachment and indictment enjoyed by serjeants of the peace. Probably it also included their right to behead robbers who were caught in the act or against whom sufficient evidence was immediately forthcoming.

Such rights could easily lead to oppression and extortion. When a man could be haled before a court, solely on the indictment of a serjeant, and there stand in peril of losing lands and goods, perhaps even in peril of losing his life, the right of independent indictment could be held as an instrument of extortion over the heads of those who were innocent. In a somewhat similar way the right of the serjeants to claim sustenance from the men of the land could be abused and extended under threat. Contrariwise, nefarious agreements could be made by private bargain between the serjeants and evil-doers—to the hurt of the countryside.³ It is not surprising that *surdit de sergaunt* should be referred to as 'strange and wrongful'.

The claim of 'the men of Galloway—that *surdit de sergaunt* had not recently been in force there—may, perhaps, have some relationship to the 'constitution' of 1244/5, when, following instructions to the justiciar of Lothian to proceed against 'the misdoers of the land', the powers of attachment and indictment enjoyed by the king's serjeants were restricted, and it was ordained that henceforth no man was to be attached by the king's serjeants (*servientes domini regis*) on the sole accusation of one man (and, possibly, on the sole accusation of a serjeant), but that indictments before the justiciar were to be made according to a procedure similar to that of the English jury of presentment.⁴ Galloway was then definitely excluded (*preterquam in Galwydia que leges suas habet speciales*). Had there been a later, unrecorded, extension to Galloway? Or were the men of Galloway hoping to persuade Edward that Galloway enjoyed the jury of

¹ *R.M.S.*, i, App. 1, Nos. 59 and 20 (in fin.). The misreading, *supradictum*, also appears in *A.P.S.*, i, 482 b.

² *Op. cit.*, xxxviii, n. 3, with, in the second citation, a misprint *supendicto*.

³ Dr Reid has noted some of this (pp. xxxvii-xxxviii), and Mr Stewart-Brown has examined the various ways in which the people could suffer (see, for example, the complaints of the freeholders of Cheshire, about 1331, against the practices of the serjeants of the earl—*op. cit.*, p. 9).

⁴ *A.P.S.*, i, 403, where the 'constitution' is printed from two of the earliest legal manuscripts—Bute and Cromertie.

presentment, and hoping, thereby, to be relieved of the oppressions of franchisal serjeants?

The evidence is certainly against the first suggestion. In June 1285, nine months before the death of Alexander III, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick (the father of Robert I), and Margery, his wife, learning that the abbot and convent of Melrose claimed for themselves and their men 'English law' (*lex anglicana*) in the lands that they held in Carrick, and that they suffered 'de superdictu servientum nostrorum' and also 'de catallis et excaetis hominum eorundem in curia nostra pro homicidio et latrocinio dampnatorum ad opus nostrum et predecessorum nostrorum ab eisdem hucusque occupatis', granted to them freedom therefrom.¹

Again Robert I's charter, granted to all the men of Galloway in 1324,² would indicate that the 'constitution' of 1244/5 had not previously applied to Galloway. By that charter, Robert I granted 'quod quilibet homo Galwidiensis super quocunque superdicto serjandorum Galwidge habeat bonam et fidelem assisam patrie, et quod non teneatur³ ad purgationem seu acquietantiam faciendam secundum antiquas leges Galwidge. . . . Et licet aliquis Galwidiensis per predictam assisam fuerit convictus, solvet nobis decem vaccas pro quolibet superdicto super quo fuerit convictus et non ulterius.'⁴ If, however, 'aliquis serjandus vel minister [noster] Galwidge super aliquo articulo tangente officium suum fuerit accusatus, [acquietabit et] purgabit se per integram acquietantiam Galwidge debitam et consuetam; et in aliis articulis ad sectam pacis respondebit prout alii vicini sui facere tenentur secundum leges Galwidge supradictas'.

We do not know what the 'laws' of Galloway were. In one of the chapters in the so-called *Assise Regis Willelmi* we read that 'Nullus Galwidiensis debet habere visnetum nisi refutaverit leges Galwidge et visnetum postulaverit'⁵; and Robert I's charter suggests that the procedure of compurgation was preferred to that of the visnet, or jury of the neighbourhood. But if, in 1324, the king's charter extended the 'good and faithful assise of the country' to the parts of Galloway, it is difficult to see how the procedure of 'presentment' could have prevailed there in the reign of Alexander III—and even less so in the reign of Alexander II.

That *surdit de sergaunt* was still operative in Galloway in 1325 is revealed in Robert I's charter to Whithorn in which he concedes that the men inhabiting the lands of Glenswinton were to be free for ever

¹ *Register of Melrose*, i, No. 316.

² *R.M.S.*, i, App. 1, No. 59. The charter bears the rubric, 'Carta libertatis de novo concessa Galwydiensibus', but the rubric may well have been provided by a copyist.

³ The printed charter has *habeant* and *teneantur*.

⁴ A hint of previous extortions?

⁵ *A.P.S.*, i, 378, c. 22. This has the good 'authority' of the Berne, Ayr, Bute and Cromertie manuscripts.

a superdicto serjantium.¹ Here the relevant clause runs—'liberi sint in perpetuum a superdicto serjantium et a quibuscunque oneribus exactionibus auxiliis prisis talliagiis et contributionibus per nos vel heredes nostros vel quoscunque alios de cetero imponendis'. This appears to equate *superdictum serjantium* with a burden upon the land, rather than with a procedure of attachment and indictment, and it brings us to the exceptionally interesting charter granted by David II to John Herries of Terregles. There we have clear evidence that serjeants of the peace, similar to those of England and Wales described by Mr Stewart-Brown, were exercising office in Dumfriesshire as late as 1364. There reference is clearly made to the right of the serjeants to behead a robber, if he was caught in the act, or if sufficient evidence against him was immediately forthcoming, and to receive a small fee for each robber's head taken by them to the legal *caput*,² and also to the right of the serjeants to claim 'puture', namely supper, a night's rest, and a morning meal when on their rounds³—a burden on the land which, as we have seen, might be made oppressive.

The relevant passages in this charter run: 'Et quod dicta baronia est libera de sorryn et fathalos, nisi si serjandi venerint per baroniam predictam cum raptore vel cum capite raptoris, et si poterunt transire extra dictam baroniam ante solis occasum nichil habebunt ad expendendum, et si non poterunt extra dictam baroniam ante occasum solis transire, habebunt hospicium ad hospitandum pro illa nocte, vel homines predictae baronie recipient raptorem vel capud raptoris de predictis serjandis ad custodiendum illa nocte et ad liberandum eisdem serjandis ipsum raptorem vel capud raptoris in crastino ad solis ortum, et tunc ipsi serjandi ibidem ad hospitandum ubicumque melius poterint expedire.'⁴

In this charter the puture (or a night's 'board and lodging') of the serjeants is apparently called 'sorryn et fathalos'; and Maitland Thomson has called attention to a transcript of a lost charter, relating to the lands of Glenken (in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright), and of date *c.* 1300, in which there is a clause, 'Volo etiam et concedo . . . quod dictus dominus Adam heredes sui vel sui assignati seu legatarii sui sint quieti de *Sorthyn* et *Tascal* et de superdicto servientis'⁵—which, if the quittance means freedom from puture and from indictment by a serjeant, uses *superdictum servientis* in its strict sense.

¹ *R.M.S.*, i, App. 1, No. 20, in fin.

² Stewart-Brown, *op. cit.*, 5, et passim.

³ *Ibid.*, 6-8, et passim (and particularly 81-82). In the 'constitution' of 1244/5 it was also laid down that 'attachiatores' at the time of making their attachments were to have only their maintenance for one day and one night at the expense of the person attached (*A.P.S.*, i, 404).

⁴ *R.M.S.*, i, No. 192. The next following passages in the charter are also interesting in that they define the rights of the men of the barony for whom the baillie of the barony can be pledge.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xiv.

In his revised edition of the first volume of the *Register of the Great Seal* Maitland Thomson accepted the reading *sorryn et fathalos* in the charter granted to John Herries. Cosmo Innes, however, preferred *frithalos*¹; and, after examining the manuscript register myself, I have no hesitation in saying that Cosmo Innes was right.² The spelling of Gaelic words by non-Gaelic-speaking scribes has produced some remarkable forms, and in another lost charter quittance was apparently given from *sorem et freelache* [or, possibly, *freelathe*?].³ But *frithalos* and *freelache* may possibly be related to the Gaelic *fritheil*, a verb that carries the meaning 'serves', or 'attends' or 'ministers to'. And, interestingly, there appears to have been, in Scotland, a Latinised form, *frithelagium*,⁴ which escaped Du Cange and for which the compilers of the *Medieval Latin Word-List* could only suggest '(probably) form of hereditary service', but which may have meant some form of personal service or attendance—possibly in the chamber or in the kitchen.⁵ Skene,⁶ on the other hand, equated *fathalos* or *fachalos* with the Irish *fechtfele*, meaning 'the first night's entertainment', while in *sorryn* he saw the Irish *sorren*, meaning a tax imposed upon land for the clothing, feeding and support of galloglasses and kernes.⁷

But although we may say with some confidence that we know what

¹ *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, 71n.

² A decision with which Dr McInnes concurs.

³ *R.M.S.*, i, App. 2, No. 345, n. 4.

⁴ *Register of Aberdeen*, i, 32.

⁵ In Lord Haddington's transcript of the account of the sheriff of Fife, rendered in 1264, we find in the discharge, 'Item, in albo pisce empto et . . . ad seruicium regis, cum sale empto, cum conductione domorum, iij li. xij s. . . et . . . , candela, focale, et frith', vij li. xv s. ix d.' (*Exch. Rolls*, i, 4). Lord Haddington was apparently puzzled by *frith*. Was it a Gaelic word like *frithalos*? Or was it *frithelagium*? From the context, it might well have been some form of service or attendance in the chamber or the kitchen, for which, however, payment was made.

⁶ *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 234.

⁷ My colleague, Professor Kenneth Jackson, to whom I referred these strange charter forms, assures me that *sorryn et frithalos* clearly means 'quartering and attendance', 'board, lodging and service'. *Sorryn*, he tells me, is unquestionably Irish *sorthan*, 'free quartering, maintenance'; *sorren* being an Anglicisation of this. *Sorthan* would be pronounced as spelt, in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, up to about the thirteenth century, whence the charter spelling, *sorthyn*. Thereafter it would be pronounced *sorhan* in Ireland and, later, *sorran* in Scotland: thus giving the corrupt charter spelling *sorem*. *Fritheil*, he tells me, has a verbal noun in Scottish Gaelic, *frithealadh*, which might give the corrupt charter form *freelache*; while *frithelagium* would be a close rendering of a thirteenth-century pronunciation when the *th* was not yet *h* but the *dh* had become *gh*. On the other hand, he can make no suggestion for the *-os* in *frithalos*, unless a copyist has misread as *-s* a contraction that was intended for *-cht*. If that were so, *frithalocht* might be the Gaelic *frithealacht*, meaning 'enough', that is, 'that which serves, a sufficiency'.

Skene's *fechtfele*, he tells me, should be *fecht féile*, meaning 'a visit of hospitality', or a journey upon which free entertainment is provided.

was meant by *surdit de sergaunt*, 'formidable problems' still remain. Mr Stewart-Brown found serjeants of the peace only in the great lordships of the north and west and in Wales—parts where the system of frankpledge was not in operation.¹ So far, in Scotland, all our evidence comes from Galloway. Were there serjeants with independent powers of attachment, indictment and decapitation in other parts? Should we not look for them, say, in Moray? And if there were serjeants of the peace in other parts, what was their relationship to the serjeants of the justiciar and the sheriff?² What was their relationship to the coroners, the mairs, the 'toschederach',³ the 'ranselmen',⁴ and even, shall we say, to the *custos* of the Quigrich of St. Fillan whose duty it was to seek goods and cattle stolen from Glendochart and who, when on his rounds, was entitled to fourpence, or a pair of shoes, and victuals sufficient for the first night?⁵

Many years ago I made a first cautious survey of this difficult field⁶; but the problems are still there.

W. CROFT DICKINSON

'FLITTING FRIDAY', THE BEGGARS' SUMMONS AND KNOX'S SERMON AT PERTH. My attention was recently drawn by Sir James Fergusson to a reference in 1563 to 'Flitting Friday preceding Whitsunday' (Acts and Decrees, xxv, 334), and recourse to *The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* made it clear that the Friday before the Whitsunday term was the normal day for 'flitting'. This has its relevance to the dramatic events of 1559. The 'Beggars' Summons,' posted on the doors of Scottish friaries on 1 January 1558/9, if not earlier, gave the friars notice to remove by Whitsunday next. The summons complied with provisions of a statute of 1555 (*A.P.S.*, ii, 494, c. 12), to the effect that warning of removal

¹ Op. cit., 99-104.

² In the charter to John Herries of Terregles (ut supra), there is a clause, 'Item quod homines predicte baronie non debent respondere ad victualia custodis patrie justiciarii nec vicecomitis.'

³ In the early 'laws' attachment could be made 'per serianandum vel coronatorem vel tosordereh' (*A.P.S.*, i, 380, c. 30); and as late as 1370 it was said that many complaints against sheriffs, mairs, serjeants, and other royal *ministri* were reaching the ears of the king (*A.P.S.*, i, 508 b).

⁴ Contrary to a generally accepted idea, ranselmen and ranselling (or searching for stolen goods) were not confined to Orkney and Shetland. The Herries charter, for example, contains a clause, 'Item quod nullus coronator nec alius debet ranciare infra baroniam predictam nisi invenerit plegium quod illa domus sit culpabilis'; and a charter of Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, granted towards the end of the thirteenth century, concedes 'eidem Arthuro et heredibus suis quod libere possint, cum viderint sibi expedire, infra terras suas, pro furatiis [*sic*], domos et terras hominum inquirere, quod anglice dicitur *ransellis*, sine aliquo impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum' (*Chartulary of Lennox*, Maitland Club, 28).

⁵ *Black Book of Taymouth*, Preface, xxxv-xxxvii.

⁶ *Juridical Review*, liii (1941), 85-111.

could be given to tenants at any time preceding a period of forty days before Whitsunday and that a copy of the notice of warning should be affixed to the most patent door of the parish church. In 1559, Whitsunday fell on 14 May and 'Flitting Friday' was consequently 12 May. It was on 11 May, the very eve of the day of removal, that Knox preached his sermon at Perth 'vehement against idolatry'. And the spoliation of friaries and the Charterhouse, which, he tells us, began on 11 May and took two days, thus coincided exactly with the expiry of the warning which had been given to the friars in the 'Beggars' Summons'.

G.D.

REGESTA REGUM SCOTTORUM, 1153-1424.¹ The following duplicated handlists, giving brief details of Scottish royal *acta*, are now available and may be ordered from Mr A. A. M. Duncan, Department of History, Old College, Edinburgh 8. (Prices include postage; remittances should be made payable to 'Regesta Regum Scottorum'.)

Acts of William the Lion, 1165-1214: price 5s. or \$1.

Addenda et corrigenda: William the Lion: available gratis.

Acts of Alexander II, 1214-49: price 7s. 6d. or \$2.

Acts of Alexander III, Guardians and John, 1249-96: price 7s. 6d. or \$2.

Acts of David II, 1329-71: price 7s. 6d. or \$2.

The full texts of the acts of the Scottish kings from 1153 to 1424 will appear in a series of volumes, under the general title *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, to be published by Edinburgh University Press. The first volume in the series will be published in summer 1960 and will be *The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, 1153-65*, edited by G. W. S. Barrow.

¹ See *ante*, xxxvii, 176.

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